



HAving diligently perused this *Antapologia*, I find it so full and just, and necessary an examination, and discovery of the *Apologeticall Narration* both in matters of fact, and of opinion, that because I dare not (as too many) have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ the Lord of glory with respect of persons, I approve it to be imprinted, and commend it (Reader) to thy most serious consideration.

Ja. Cranford.



Tender Conscience, scrupulous, doubting Christian.

Fear and beloved Christians, for your sakes in speciall who are apt to be troubled with many doubts and fears about the Constitution and Government of the visible Church, and the way of Worship and Communion in it, have I drawn up this present Answer, as to undeceive you in the Apologists, the *Apologie*, and their Church-way, so to satisfie you in your scruples and doubts about Presbytery. It was my love, care and respect to tender consciences, that more especially moved me (now some 9 years ago) to fall upon the more thorough studying & searching of the controversies of the Church, &c. And the grounds which now of late have troubled my thoughts & studies that way, are, 1. The recovering & reducing consciences of Christians who are not so far engaged. 2. The settling some who are wavering. 3. The keeping off others from falling. Now the first born of my latter studies in this kind, is this *Antapologia*, which I here recommend to you for to behold the faces of Presbytery and Independency in, with the beauty, deformity of the one, and the deformity, disorder and weaknesse of the other: And yet I have some reason to beleieve and hope, that if you will indeed read and consider impartially and thoroughly into this glasse, you may be either changed in the love of it, or at least be so stumbled at Independency, as to be kept from falling in, and willing in the mean time to wait upon God in that way of his, an Assembly of learned and godly Divines, to see what he will be pleased to speak by them: I have also accordingly provided materials for a large Epistle to this Book, to make way for it in the hearts and consciences of the people, as well known as are laid in beforehand by many of the Independent party, many prejudices against my person and the Book, to hinder if possible the fruit and benefit of it, yea to keep people from so much as reading any part of it, that so receiving and beleieving the Independent Grounds without hearing or examining the other side, they may be kept in ignorance and error: I had many thoughts and purposes in my Epistle, to give the Reader an account of my especiall call to the making this Answer, as also how I laid down the Principles and Rules I more especially went by in the studying of these controversies, and then to have Apologized for my self and Book, by answering some objections and clearing aspersions cast abroad in this mistaking age, and to give the Reader my many sufferings, constant labors, &c. and so to have cleared my grounds moving me to make this *Antapologia*, with the Apologists reasoning their *Apologes*. *Narration*, and my Principles with their 3. Principles expressed in their *Apologie*, and my sufferings, troubles, patience, labors, with their patience, &c. and then left them to the Reader to judge in those matters between us, but conceiving the danger of this way in comparing with the Apologists, that I might become a fool in glorying, and runne into the same fault I charge upon the Apologists, and least it might be thought I sought to commend my Answer by such reasonings and vindications of my self, and to refer all to Gods, and that I may not weary the Reader too long in the porch, I will only insist somewhat upon justifying and clearing the lawfulness of the way and manner of this Answer, and the grounds I go upon in the matters of fact reported in it, and this I must do of necessity, for besides other reasons, a Pamphlet, entituled *The Anatomist Anatomized* was printed, rather to

To the Christian Reader.

preposseſſe the Reader againſt the *Antapologie*, then to answer the *Anatomy of Indignation* (as all may ſee) and to be a ſhelter rather againſt this ſhower (as the *Anatomizer* calls it) ready to fall, then to dry up the drops already fallen; But I ſhall by the favour of God, not only ſaſſifie the Reader, that this covering is too narrow, and the ſtuff too ſlight to keep out the ſhower from wetting, but make an advantage of it, even to give the greater credit and beliefe to the things aſſerted in my Book, and to remove the opinion from lurking in many other boſomes, and in particular to make the charge heavier upon the Anatomizer, by ſpeaking particularly to the matters of fact concerning him, in accepting of his motion and requeſt, of proving the reports concerning him by witneſſes, and before a judicatory, I muſt therefore answer to the three Propositions of the Anatomizer as they have reference to the *Antapologie*. 1. *That many things reported in this Antapologie are miſreported.* 1. Let the Reader obſerve, that the Anatomizer though he play the fore game, and will be before-hand in ſpeaking to a Book before it come forth (and *because truth will hardly overtake a lie that is ſet on foot or five days before it* (as himſelfe ſpeaks) therefore he will be ſure to ſend forth in time, even ſome dayes before reports come out) yet the Anatomizer doth not ſay things reported are miſreported, ſo that though many things may be miſreported, many things alſo may be truly reported; & in pag 4. in the definition he is pleaſed to give of the *Antapologie*, 'tis a *Collection of ſuch faults, as either mens miſtakes and miſdeeds, or perhaps mens own infirmities have made, either beyond the ſea or here*, he denies not the truth of all the reports and faults, but grants them with a perhaps. 1. I deſire the Reader to conſider, that for the matters of fact related in the *Apologie*, which in this Answer I ſpeak unto, aſſerting the contrary upon Reaſons and grounds laid down by me, I never intended by ſuch an Answer, to make a Judiciary infallible proof (which as 'tis not neceſſary in the way of answering matter of fact, ſo neither can it be by rational men expected, as if without that no ſufficient Answer were given to diſprove facts) but only a rationall probable proof from Letters and other Manuſcripts going under the names of the Apologiſts, & ſuſcribed to their known friends, from reports of men of credit and ſuch who have lived amongſt them, hearing and ſeeing things, and from many circumſtances of place, & time, &c. by which in reaſon men may well judge accordingly; and for this kind of proof I beleve I can make as rationall and conſcientious a one as I can ſiſſie my ſelf and all indifferent perſons, to judge according to what I write, as hath been made theſe many yeers (for ſince the *Apologie* came forth, I have uſed a great deal of care, diligence, and circumſpection, both by writing to know the truth of things I formerly had been informed of, and by enquiring particularly of many perſons concerning circumſtances and their proofs, and queſtioning with them how they knew ſuch thing, &c. as alſo by forbearing to inſert matters related to me upon a ſingle teſtimony and witneſſe, where there were not other ſtrong circumſtances concurring to make them out;) And yet for all the care I have uſed, 'tis poſſible that among ſo many things related by me, there may be ſome miſtakes in the reports of ſome circumſtances in matters of order and time, place or number (though I know none ſuch); and yet the reports and fact true. (A report may be true and yet miſtaken in one circumſtance, which when it comes to ſcanning may prove more ſoule in another,) ſo that the eaſe ſtands whether the Apologiſts relating ſuch and ſuch matters of fact, an Answerer having credendies and teſtimonies by him of letters written in their names, reports from credible men, as godly Miniſters and Chriſtians their own friends, with other circumſtances concurring, hath not reaſon to queſtion the truth of ſuch facts, and to answer them, by laying down his grounds why he judges otherwiſe; and for my Answer to the

To the Christian Reader.

In their Reply they deny any of the matters of fact I speak unto, I will therefore at the end of it, print all their Letters, with other Letters of their own, as they shall have by me, and name the parties from whose hands I had them, and how they came to me, and relate other circumstances which for present I have concealed, that the Reader judge whether I had not reason to believe, and Answer as I do. For a judicial proof of all matters of fact in my *Antapologie*, I not seeing those matters, and most of my Letters being but copies, and many of the facts being at the least, considering also 'tis possible the relators may mistake in some particulars, and had them from some of the Apologists own mouths, and though they have forgotten them, I can for a need rubbe up their memories, by minding them the place, times and occasions which they cannot deny; I have also some original Letters by me to prove some things asserted by me in this answer, and for the most part all things of their preaching and acting for their way, besides that the Apologists themselves speak and are notorious, I have many ears and eye witnesses both of Ministers and people which I can produce, so that if I have reason to believe a report of anything I see not, nor hear not upon the place, as that there was a siege at York, and a victory obtained by the Parliaments Forces neer York, &c. I have ground to believe many of the particulars instanced in by way of Answer to the *Apologetical Answer*: Now finding severall passages in the *Apolo* in point of fact, related with a high confidence, contrary to my knowledge and to the testimony of many, with a circumstance of other circumstances which I could not doubt of, and observing other matters of fact brought by the Apologists to rake the people with, against which though there were not such strong proofs, yet in the drawing up my Answer to such particulars, I might not I now upon probable grounds as one sufficient witness with the circumstance of place and time, &c. question these, and judge them to be much like the others. Particularly for M. Symson, because he hath publickly printed that the *Antapologie* is a collection of such faults as either mens mistakes and malice, or perhaps mens own have made either beyond the seas or here, in which sentence it is to be observed that he confutes all that's brought by himself against the *Anat. my* or the *Antapologie*, himself taking up reports suddenly, and believing heresayes, before he ever saw any of them, yea or one page of the *Antapologie*, branding a Minister and his Book for a collection of such faults as either mens mistakes & malice have made, by telling this not only to the particular Church, but to all the Churches in the world, as printing doth, and because he hath put up a request, that the Reader will not believe any reports of this kind till he see that is coming forth (meaning the *Antapologie*) untill the Authors of them appear and bring their witnesses to a faire bearing in any lawfull though the strictest judgement, &c. and because he saith, in what he is guilty before men he will confesse himself; That the Reader may not be deluded to believe what's said by him there, I thought it best to be preposited against the truth of the *Antapologie*, I accept of his motion and challenge, and if he will be pleased to procure any lawfull though the strictest judgement, yea the highest, I am ready for so much as concerns him, to appear and bring his witnesses to a faire bearing, and if the Judicature will give time, and grant Warrants to the witnesses that they may be deposed, I doubt not but besides a rational Answer by way of writing (which I intended) to make also a full Judicarie trial, yea to prove more then yet I have charged Mr Symson with, only I desire if I may be put to this trouble, that Mr Symsons small and just request may be granted by

To the Christian Reader.

the Judicature, that he may suffer if he have done what in the *Antapologie* is reported of him, and if I cannot make it good, then I am contented to suffer, and I am willing also to be judged by his own Law, Pag. 7. *Lege Remissa*, to be branded with a K, in the forehead, if I do not by witnesses prove his preaching and acting for his way, upon condition he may be served so if I do, and to the letter K, to have the addition of L. and P. But it may be objected, Why doth Mr. Symphon of all the Apologists put such such a Book before hand, and dare it thus? I answer in his own words, *some may perhaps conceive 'tis a sign of guilt to speak so much*, and I conceive M. Symphon's guilt and consciousness caused fear, and fear that hastned him to thrust forth something in the way of the *Antapologie*, to blast the credit of it before it was come forth, and the truth of it is, he of all the Apologists hath been most faulty both in Holland and in England, and for the close of this concerning whats reported in the *Antapologie* of Mr. Symphon, I shall speak in the words made use of by himself, *God taketh the wife in their own unkindness, and will destroy such wisdom*, and so I beleeve he hath done this of M. Symphon's forestalling the *Antapologie*, had M. Symphon remembered a late example of M. P. and M. W. brought in to prove what they had said and written of a Person of place, and the issue of that triall, or had he staid till the *Antapologie* had come forth to have read what I charge him with, he would never have written thus.

2. *Propos. That in no way of God to divulge mens personall faults, supposing the matter of facts to be true, yet the divulging of them in this manner is not according to the word of God.*

I answer, all that is brought by the Anatomizer for proof page 5. out of *Matth.* 18. and his other grounds are nothing to the case and point in hand, namely of making this Answer, and I would aske Mr. Symphon, whether it be lawfull to make any Answer at all to the *Apologie*, if it be, then certainly if the Apologists have personall things and matters of fact, no man can answer them fully, and as they ought to be answered, but he must speak to personall things and matters of fact, and the fault of divulging personall things is not in the *Antapologists* but in the *Apologists*: As for the 18. of *Matth.*, that speaks of private offences, and of offences that may be in that way healed, and the other grounds brought by Mr. Symphon speaks to offences already repented of, and not of such which in stead of being judged faults are made use of publicly to draw men into a way of error by, I give therefore these two distinct Answers:

1. The *Apologists* have publicly and openly sinned in avowing some things in the *Apologie*, and they never yet repented of them, (as I heard) but Master Symphon justifies himself, and them in his *Anatomist anatomized*, page 4. Now the Apostles rule is 1 *Tim.* 5. 19, 20. though *Timothy* may not receive an accusation against an Elder under two or three witnesses, yet them that saine openly may be rebuked before all, that others may fear, now as the *Apologists* by Printing told all the Churches, so by Printing it may be told to all the Churches, the remedy ought to be proportioned according to the disease, the plaister to be as large as the sore, the *Apologie* hath spread it self to the Parliament, City, Kingdom, and so ought the Remedy; may Independents publicly and confidently write untruths, and may not others in way of answering plainly point at them, but tis against the way of God, and not according to the Word.

2. This may not only lawfully be done, but this ought to be done, when men shall tell fine stories, and bring matters of fact, interweave them all along to prove such a way by, and to gain people to errors by such Rhetoricall arguments, he who answers such a book, and would preserve people from errors is bound to disprove all he can those matters of fact and to speak to those popular arguments, by weakening the truth of those Relations all he knowes, and secondly by showing how they are not arguments.

To the Christian Reader.

argument nor convincing, supposing they were true: Tis well known by many others vert in the writings of the Protestants against the Papists, how many of the Controversies, especially upon the notes of the Church, the Protestants do, wherein they stand on matters of fact, disprove them by matters of fact and personall things, as upon Unity, Holiness of life, &c. and in giving an Answer to the *Apologie*, I could not have declined matters of fact without gratifying the cause of Independencie, and wronging the cause, I suppose the excellencie of an Answer, as distinct from writing Tractates upon such a subject, or such a point consists in three things: 1. In not looking whatsoever a man pleases, or bringing in what ever he hath a mind to, but in following the text before him, and in keeping his discourse close to the text. 2. In not omitting any materiall passages, skipping over the knots and the hard arguments and falling on the weak, snatching here and there, tearing through all. 3. In labouring to take the Authors mind laid down in words and scope, and in not wresting and fastning another sense upon the Author: All which I propounded to my self in falling upon this Answer, and have aimed at in it, and therefore could not omit matters of fact and personall things brought by the *Apologists*, especially when all along they set much Art framed and set to gain credit to the Church-way, to prove the principles of their way, and to effect their desires; For instance, how as story with the *Apologists* practise upon it, page 16, 17, 20, 21. how they prove the effectuall successe of submission and Non-communication, how their good carriage since their return into England, and their exile move them to move for a Toleration, how is all that Narration of 3:4:5, pag. 4, taken into the Word of Christ, &c. laid down as so many grounds of dependence: Reader of the truth of the Church way, let the *Apologeticall* Narrative be abatiz'd, and it will be found there is no point of fact, or personall thing in it, but is brought in some way or other as a motive or argument for this way, so that of necessity I could not avoid matter of fact, unless I would deny the truth: *Paul* in *Gal. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.* openly rebukes *Peter*, because he was to be blamed for his with-drawing and separating himself, and because others thereupon were carried away with it, and so because the *Apologists* do not only with-draw and separate themselves, but by their *Apologeticall* Narrative do even compell others also, I cannot but speak.

1. *Prop. That 'tis not argumentative against the cause that, falsely called Independent, is rationall or conducing to decide any, or this controversie.*

1. That the *Apologists* and the *Anatomizers* way is not falsly but truly call'd Independencie, I refer the Reader to these pages in this present Answer, 201, 202, 203. Secondly, were all the matters of fact, and the Narration of them argumentative for the *Apologists* cause to move the Parliament, and to draw the Reader to their way, and is not the disproving of them argumentative against it, if this be not argumentative against Independencie, then I am sure the greater part of the *Apologeticall* Narrative is nothing materiall for it, and otherwise then was that story of a Minister deposed, and matter of fact upon it inserted in the Narrative with many other, and supposing that to be true, that there is no reasoning from the quality of the person to his cause, why then do you so much do it in your *Apologie*, taking all occasions to magnifie your person, and reasoning from your persons to your cause, from your sufferings, patience,

patience, &c. but whether there be any strength or no in that, it matters not, tis strongly argumētative in any point to overthrow mens own meditations, that the *Antapologie* doth; in a word, there's more consequence then the *Antapologie* is willing to see in that main Assertion of the *Apologie*, That one Church may non Communion, but not excommunicate another (as he terms it,) in the miscarriages of *M. Symphon* and his Church; for might Presbyterian Government take place, we should not have men so easily principled into *anabaptisme*, nor make a covenant with separation, &c. as in this answer in many places is proved. And so much for an answer to *M. Symphon*'s Book as far as it concerns the *Antapologie*, and may be a block in the way of it. Now besides this, there is one objection more that hath been in the mouths of some Independents, and may instilled into many more to hinder the fruit and benefit of this Answer, namely (against the manner of the Answer) that tis an Answer full of bitterness, malice, reproaches, railings, and that tis a book written against Gods people and good men. For confutation of this objection, I present to the Readers apprehension these following particulars. 1. I have endeavoured for the manner of doing it, that it might be without all just exception in regard of hard words and bitter speeches, and I can truly say I have chosen many words & phrases more proper, & taken in other words which in some places have rendered the stile more rugged to avoid offensive phrases, and all along though I often disprove matters of fact, yet I never use so hard a word (to my remembrance) as false, much lesse a lye, but untrue, and this not so, whereas *M. Symphon* in his Pamphlet useth falsely and hath the word lie. 2. I desire the conscientious indifferent Reader to consider my book is not a Treatise or Tractate upon what subject I please to speak of, but an Answer, & so must follow where that leads me, & speak to that. 3. Tis an Answer to a book full of matter of fact, and stories of the Authors themselves, so that I cannot answer without particularising, the truth cannot be evidenced to the Reader without coming somewhat to particulars. 4. The book contains matter of high praise of themselves and their party. (a few inconsiderable persons comparatively) with many close, indirect, & dangerous insinuations against all reformed Churches, which cannot be answered particularly without some reprimand and charge. 5. There are many particulars in matters of fact, I prove and charge the *Apologists* with, and some too bad for untruth. 6. I forbear mentioning the names of many particular persons which this *Apologie* leads me unto, some wholly, others I speak of only under the first letter of their names, and for the *Apologists* though I often particularly name them, yet in some places of my Book, and in some grosser things, I forbear particularizing them too. 7. I meddle not with personall things and matters of fact that are heterogeneous, to relate other kind of facts and practices which I have heard or known of any the *Apologists*, but speak only of such as are proper to the matter occasioned from their *Apologie*, or the effects and fruits of their Church way. the *Apologists* themselves give the occasion to the laying open so many particulars, which no other occasion but such an one as this could have drawn forth from me to have made their names and practices thus publicke. 8. In many passages of this Answer I do upon severall occasions give the *Apologists* a just testimony of that worth for parts and piety which is in them, and speak to them, and of them as Brethren, so that let but all these things be laid together considering

To the Christian Reader.

the Rules of Scripture in such Cases, and that I intended a down-right Answer, and this Answer will then be accounted my pen dipped in oyle, and not in vinegar.

I truly speak it that this present *Antapologia* is so far from being written out of any malice or ill will to the *Apologists*, that I love their persons as brethren, yea some of them above brethren, and besides as I love them as Saints, I have a personal love, and a particular love to some of them, and I can truly speak it, that I writ not this book for any part of it out of any personall quarrell, old grudge, or former difference (but so this day there never was any such difference or unkindnesse past between us) but I have writ it with much sorrow, unwillingnesse and some kind of conflict, in respect of that old personall love and friendship still strong in me, and had not the truth constrained me, my call to this work been strong, the cause of God and Reformation much in my eye, I had out of my personall love and respect to some of the *Apologists* given over the work: I can, and am ready to do them any service of love, even the meanest, to wash their names, and should much rejoyce in their happy union and growing into one body in this Reformation. And let not this Answer for the truth and soundness be branded for a bitter railing, malicious Answer, but let this stand to the former premises, that the *Apologists* needed such an Answer as should not flatter nor extoll them, but be free and plain; for the truth is, the *Apologists* have been too much flattered both in their persons and Churches, and they are undone for want of being plainly dealt with and freely; a cause has been too much held to them, and I hope this Answer may do much good, even to abate their swellings and confidence, and if many of the Ministers would deal more plainly with them, it would be better both for them and us: I remember a passage of *Calvin* in an Epistle of his to *Melancthon* concerning Luther, which may be applied to the Ministers in reference to the *Apologists*, how that if there were that mind in all of us which ought to be, some words might be found: And certainly we transmit an unworthy example to posterity, when we cast away all liberty rather than we will offend: no man, and will as he whomencie the more rise and grow whilst all beare with him and suffer all things, &c.

4. *Ans.* The writing of Books against the errors and opinions (though of good men) is not speaking against good men, or opposing godlinesse; when the *Apologists* in their *Apologie* writ against Authoritative Presbyterianall Government, and in page 22. and 24. of their *Apologie* do professedly declare they judge the Calvinian Reformed Churches to stand in need of a further Reformation themselves; and that the truth lies in the middle way between Authoritative Principall government, &c. did they speak against the Saints and all the godly Ministers in those Churches: when *Paul* withstood *Peter* to the face, because he was to be blamed for his withdrawing and separating, did *Paul* speak against the Apostles of Christ, or speak evill of the Saints? no more do I in writing this Book.

Good Reader, Not to detain thee longer from entering into the house of God, lay all things together, consider wisely of persons and things, and have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ the Lord of glory, with respect of persons

* *Calv.* Epist. 63. Melanct. Verum si in nobis omnibus esset is animus qui esse debet aliquod forsitan remedium posset inveniri. Et certe sœdum exemplum transmittimus ad posterum, &c.

To the Christian Reader.

sons, Accept and take in good part what is now brought to thy hand, as intended for thy spirituall good, for the recovering or preserving thee from errors on the right hand, and let love cover any mistakes or fautes thou maist meet with in it. I am but one against five, as also in so many sheets there may well be Errata, and all things not so strong, in much writing a mans pen may slip and mistake, and with long waking a watchfull man may wink now and then. consider also this Answer hath been made in the midst of much preaching and many other busineses, having been destitute also of some advantages and helps which at another time I might have had. Thy good acceptance of it, thy profiting by it, and thy earnest prayers to God for me, will encourage me to go on in further writing, to which I have so deeply engaged my self in this Book; and God sparing me life and health, I have taken vp a fixed resolution, never to give over writing till this Church be settled, and these great schismes amongst us healed: But if it should so happen that this *Antiquitie* should profit nothing at all many Christians whom I intend it most unto, yet I question not but it will profit some, even as * *Augustine* in his Epistle to *Incentius* writes, even they who have a care to read it with the fear of God, and without respect of persons. Now the God of truth and peace reveals a bundance of truth and peace, and give us truth and peace alwayes by all means; He fulfill that promise in *Jeremie*, to his people in this Kingdome, give them one heart and one way to fear him, for the good of them and their children after them. And so commending thee dear Christian to God, and the word of his grace, and this work of mine to his blessing, I conclude this Epistle as * *Beza* doth his to *Duditijs*, farewell, *The Lord keep thee and all thine from all evill, and especially from woonday Devils, which walk about in this place and in these times*, that is, from the errors of Anabaptisme, Brownisme, Antinomianisme, Toleration of Sects and schismes under pretence of liberty of conscience. Amen.

* *August.* Vincentio Epist. 4.
Nunc vero etiam
si tibi nihil proficit
non puto nihil illi
profuturam qui
eam legere cum
Dei timore, & sine
personarum
acceptatione curaverint.
a *Beza* Epist. 1.
Andr. Duditio,
Dom nus te totamque familiam
ob omni malo,
ac praesertim a
Dæmonis meridianis istis ob-
ambulantibus,
custodiat.

Thou's in Christ,

THO. EDVVARDS.

AN TAPOLOGIA,

OR

A full ANSWER to a Book Entitled,
An Apologetical Narration, &c.



S the Assertors of truth, through the subtlety and malice of Satan and his Instruments, causing prejudices and mistakes in the minds of many, have been necessitated to write Apologies and make defences.

(as the Scrip-
tures, and

Ancient
Moderne do abundantly testi-
fy)

to many who have maintain-
ed errors, have purposely cho-
sen the way of making Apologies,

and publications both of them-
selves and their opinions, that so

by good words, and faire speeches,
they might deceive the hearts of the

people. Amongst other erroneous
confessions who have used this Arti-
cle, the Brownists, and Separat-
ists have not been least; (as is to
be seen in some of their Books.)

The Independents and Semisepa-
ratists have also taken up this way,

as heretofore, so now in this present A-
polog. Narration, which I shall examine, and return an answer to, with
condemnor, shame and respect, both to the Authours, and to the Book,

and set forth as the truth and cause of God may suffer no prejudice. And I

Mar. 11. v. 18, 19. Acts 7. from v. 1. to v. 57. A&A
11 v. 1. to v. 11. A&A cap. 24. A&A cap. 16. A Justit.
Marc. 2. Apolog. pro Christianis. Tertul. Apol. athe-
nens. Apol. ad legem pro Christianis. A. Bonan. Apol.
pro Christianis. Apol. ad legem pro Christianis. Martini
Zwinglii Apol. qua ad crimina respondet. Apol.
contra Episcop. Const. Bucer. Apol. contra
Brenthum. Dancii Apol. pro Helvet. Ecclesiis. A-
pol. Dancii pro iudaeis. Melancthon. A-
pol. August. confess. Apol. pro Lutheris.
Gualth. Apol. pro Zwinglio. Beza. Apol.
Jevilli. Apol. Episc. Anglicana. Morri. Apol.
log. cathol. e Schuvenfeld. Apol. contra
Fabium. Apol. ad Regem Hong. de mediati-
one. Stancati. Apol. Vorstii. Thebes Apol.
Exeg. Apol. Quatio Apol. Reutii. Apol. A-
pol. Remonstrantium. Apol. Sebast. Franck.
D. P. Dirick Philips Apol. Apol. Episcop.
Francisc. de St. Cl. d Apologie of the Brown-
nists. Robins. Apol. Justit. of Separat. e Apo-
log. for Church Covenant. Apol. Reply Da-
venport.

B

shall

shall speak; first to the Title of the Book, and then to the Book it self.

As for the Title; *An Apologetical Narration of some Ministers formerly in Exile, now Members of the Assembly of Divines.* It might have been either styl'd, *A Panegyricall Oration of some Ministers:* Or, *An Encouragement*; For all along the discourse, Encomiums and Praises are interwoven, and the Authour take all occasions to extoll, and magnifie both themselves, and their party; as many severall passages testifie.

Narration.] 1. An Acculation rather; for both openly, and more closely there are many dangerous insinuations, (and those oftentimes nothing to the matter in hand) by way of derogation, and depreciation of all Reformed Churches differing from them: as the Reader may observe in these Pages, (Page 4. 11. 19. 22. 24.) 2. *A Narration* should be plaine, cleare, particular, true, perfect; or else it answers not the nature and end of a Narration. But this Narration will be found dark, doubtfull, generall, untrue, imperfect both in matter of fact and opinion; relating only part, and having a Reserve.

Of some Ministers formerly in Exile.] As this is part of the Title in the Frontispiece to invite the Reader, and take the people; so 'tis often mention'd in the body of the Book, some ten times, *Usque ad Nasam.* To what remote, and farre Countrey were you banish'd? and what were the Companions of your Exile? Certainly the Reader, into whose hands your Apologetical Narration comes, and finds, both in the Title and Book so often mention, and such a matter made of Exile and banishment; will think, Alas! good men, into what *Patnas*, *Indies*, or remote wilderness were they banish'd and forc'd to flie (and will never imagine that these were the exiled Ministers, and this their Exile, who in a time of common danger, and suffering in their own land, went with their wives, children, estates, friends, Knights, Gentlemen and Citizens over into *Holland*, where they lived in plenty, pomp and ease, enjoying their own wayes and freedome: and when the coasts were cleared, came over into *England*, were entertain'd and receiv'd with all respects and applause, and are now *Members of the Assembly of Divines.*

For the Book it self: It consists of three maine parts. 1. The occasion of putting forth this Apologetical Narration at this time. 2. The Narration it self. 3. The end and aime of it, exprest in the last page of the Book. To each of which parts, and all the particulars, I shall give a direct and positive Answer, by subjoyning the Answer to every passage of the Narration; whereby both being in the Readers eye, he may compare them together; and so judge the better both of the *Apologetical Narration*, and the *Antapologia.* *And I.*

from page to page, and line to line, not omitting any material
 circumstance or manner of expression; and in the manner no par-
 tiality of fact or opinion. And the Reader may observe, that I have
 followed close where they lead me, not taking liberty to range
 at will. And this Answer, though it be not written in such strong lines,
 as the Narration, yet (by the grace of God) it shall extell
 its own truth and evidence; and in the words of truth and soberness.

This *Apologeticall Narration*, though at the first view and reading of
 it, seems a face of fairness, captiveneſſe, modesty, ingenuity; especially
 to him who know not the Authours; neither the History, nor all the opi-
 nions of the learned Licenſer, having lived remote (till of late) was strange-
 ly inclin'd to give ſuch a testimony to it; much more may the people: Yet
 ſober and godly Miniſters who underſtand their way, and their; and
 beſeech their riſe, progreſſe and proceedings in their Church-way; even
 ſo their good friends, and tender enough of them, have quite ano-
 ther opinion of their Book; and judge they were much overſet in the fra-
 ming thereof, that they have much to ſet themſelves by it, and in due time,
 to ſet it aſide, as well for the unreaſonableneſſe of it, as for ſome things
 contained in it. My judgement of it is this: That it is indeed cunningly, and
 ſubtilly drawn up, ſor to take, and deceive good people; to gather,
 and confirm their party by it; being full of ſpecious and glorious
 names, and all pleaſible ſeeming complaiſee and correſpondency with
 the ſentences they depart from. And therefore my ſcope in this Answer, is
 to labour to undeceive the people, and to wipe off the paint, and to
 ſhew the ſkeleton under the green graſſe, and the ſoul hand under the white
 ſheet. Upon the thorough and full examination of the Book, I can bring
 a charge againſt it: That there is not only fraud in relating parts of
 the ſeveral opinions; and not the whole; holding out the bright ſide of the
 truth, in hiding the black; but there are many manifeſt untruths in ſome
 of the ſentences; and thus even where God and men are called to witneſs: And
 ſome paſſages of the *Apologie*, which are matters of fact, write the
 contrary to what they affirm. Beſides, that ſome paſſages in the Book,
 are ſo contrived with artifice, as uſe there is in dealing in general, and in
 ſome ſentences, and ſome double expreſſions like *Apollon's Oracle*.
 Thus ſome paſſages of the ſentences, which in manner of fact, or opinion, but
 they are ſo framed that they may receive a double conſtruction; and that ſenſe
 which according to Grammar, and ordinary reception they carry, cannot be
 ſupported by the context, or by the ſentences, or by the ſentences, or by the ſentences.

Upon this charge and every particular of it, I ſhall make good in the fol-
 lowing

bowing discourse. And because they have now by Name in so open a manner appear'd in print, as to present this Apologie to both Houses of Parliament; I must be forc'd (though against my mind, and contrary to my purposes and resolutions) to name persons, times, places, occasions, with other circumstances which may evidence the truth of what I write to the Reader, calling God to witnesse (whom I desire to feare, and to whom I know I must give an account) that I saie nothing, nor wittingly mis-report anything, nor in the least circumstance: neither have I taken up reports lightly, but what ever I affirme or assert in this Answer, I either had it from their own mouths, or can show it in their owne Letters, or in other manuscripts, or in some printed Books of men of their way and communion: or else have received it from credible persons, many of them eye-witnesses, and eye-witnesses upon the places. All which witnesses are either learned, godly, pious Ministers; or else godly Christians, some their friends and familiars who have been amongst them, and convers'd with them, both in Holland and England. And I appeal to many of my Reverend Brethren in the Ministry, and to many godly Christians, and to the consciences of the Authours of this Apologie, upon second thoughts, and to their own followers, and Church members, whether all along I speak not the truth.

Apolog. Our eares have been of late so filled with a sudden unexpected noise of confused Exclamations (though not so expressly directed against us in particular, yet in the interpretation of the most reflecting on us) that awakened thereby, we are enforced to anticipate a little that discovery of our selves which otherwise we resolv'd to have left to time and experience of our wayes and words, the truest discoverers, and surest judges of all men and their actions.

You make the ground and occasion of setting forth this Apologie now, to be your eares of late so filled with a sudden and unexpected noise of confused Exclamations, interpretatively reflecting on you. It will hardly be beleev'd by wise men, that such men as you should make such an Apologie, and that in such a juncture of time, (the Assembly sitting, and being upon Discipline, and you members of it) upon so weak and sleight grounds as a sudden and unexpected noise of confused Exclamations coming to your eares, which as they are soone raised, so are they as soone gone, and often die of themselves, and by wise men nothing more sleighted, especially being sudden and confused. If other of your brethren who swimme not with the stream of the times, and are not the darlings of the people, should upon any occasion of their eares fill'd with a sudden and unexpected noise of confused Exclamations; (even when they are expressly directed against them, and not only in interpretation reflecting on them) write Apologies and make de-

they should judge they had little to do, and might have filled City
 and Country with Apologies before now. There are who will not be per-
 suaded but are induced rather to think there were other motives and
 ends of your writing that Apologie at that time: and the rather, because
 there have been heretofore such noises of confused Exclamations (at least in-
 conveniently reflecting on you) and you pass'd them by. Shall I tell you what
 might have rather enforced you unto this work: Many of the Ministers
 of this City, not long before drew up a Letter to the Assembly concerning
 the Church grievances; and in particular, that of gathering of Churches, and
 driving away their people: which Letter, as it was not directed in particu-
 lar against you: so, it reflected in the words and sense upon many others: ra-
 ther than your selves: which Letter how it was accepted of by the Assembly,
 and the speeches and motions were upon it, how to remedy and prevent the
 same, is recorded, and especially, that of gathering Churches, you better know
 that. But soone after, some considerations were put forth by many mem-
 bers of the Assembly, to dissuade from gathering Churches: to which con-
 siderations your hands were subscribed. (Upon what reasons you complied
 herein, whether you could not well avoid it, without greater prejudice
 to your cause, you know best.) And now whether this *Apologeticall Narration*
 was not first hastned to follow upon these considerations to counter-bal-
 lance that act of yours against further gathering of Churches, that your cause
 might receive no losse and prejudice, and to satisfie your owne party
 (many of them greatly exclaiming against you for your hands to those con-
 siderations,) and so thinking by this after-game to recover all, I leave to the
 Reader to judge? 2. Whether also, you well knowing that the Assembly was
 upon the borders of the maine points in difference and upon coming to de-
 termine Baptyery, Ordination, Excommunication, you put not forth this Book
 to satisfy the spirits of the Assembly and others before hand? 3. Whe-
 ther this was not intended to pre-possesse the peoples minds so lay in
 waiting against what the Assembly might determine: and by discovering
 your side so before hand, and so publicly ingaging your selves, your party
 might appear, and stand the more by you, and with you for a Toleration,
 the great designe of the men of this way in these times? 4. Lastly, Whether
 (as much as you durst) this Apologie was not set out just upon the coming in
 of those Brethren of Scotland to our help, to asperse the Government and Re-
 formation of the Church of Scotland, and to lessen the esteem of that King-
 dome and Church, so much and so deservedly valued by this Kingdome, but
 not so much by all the men of the new Church-way, as the great let of their
 government? These reasons with some other may well be
 thought

thought to be the ground of your Apologie, but that alledged by you (that sudden and unexpected noyse of confused Exclamations) serves so far from a Reason, that upon good grounds is doubted whether it can be true that a noyse of confused Exclamations reflecting on you and your wayes should be sudden and unexpected to you: 'Tis strange to me that Exclamations should be to you at that time unexpected, that a few men going in a hew by way different from all the Reformed Churches of Christendome, and that with so high a hand as you, and your party have done, should not expect reflecting against; and to have their eares filled with queries and Exclamations (not only confused and interpretative) but distinct, particular and personal. Now as the pretended ground of making this Apologie is taken from you, is what you affirme in the following words (*that you were awakened thereby*) is denied, for you have never beene asleepe since your coming over into England, but have beene alwayes watchfull, and intent to the uttermost upon things which might either further your way, or might hinder it; 'tis we thinke need something to awaken us, as having beene too much asleepe in respect of you, for whilst the husbandmen have slept, you have both sowed and reaped a harvest: But I am in hope that your Apologie and this Antipologia together, will awaken both Parliament, Ministers and people, more and more, and open mens eyes to judge of things aright between you and us.

As for the being enforced to anticipate a little that discovery of your selves which otherwise you resolved to have left to time and experience of your words and spirits.

It appears manifestly by what I have answered already, both of the weaknesse of that ground (a sudden and unexpected noyse of confused Exclamations) and that in all reason you could not but expect Exclamations, that you were not enforced by that to make this Apologie, and to anticipate the discovery of your selves, Being Sebolters and understanding men, you may blush to write that such poore blangs should enforce you against your resolutions, but you were willing and desirous to make such an Anticipation, and so you would make and finde some ground for it, judging a litle more better then none at all, but however, you were not enforced to anticipate, yet I must tell you this Apologie is an Anticipation, with a witness, such an Anticipation, both for the unseasonableness of it, and for the manner and way of it, as I judge no story nor age can parallell it: That you could not stay a litle longer, but in such a time when we need so much the assistance of our Brethren of Scotland, and the help of all other Reformed Churches, in the face of the Parliament, Assembly and Kingdom, to put out such a

to do such an act as this is beyond all example, and I will but
 to your selves and the Reader in a third person, what you have
 making this *Apologeticall Narration*, and then leave you to give
 Suppose any other five Members of the Assembly, men, as con-
 sider your selves every way, both for piety and learning; nay, any
 members of the Assembly, had at the same time when you put forth
 this *Narration*, only presented a bare Narration of a Government,
 taken both from the Government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. and from
 the Synodical, to both Houses of Parliament; and that without reciting
 their doings and sufferings, or pleading their great merits; or without cast-
 ing any objections on Presbyteriall Government, and the Reformed Church;
 and should have peremptorily concluded, as you do in two severall pa-
 ges 22. and 24. That we do here publicly professe the true Govern-
 ment, and consist in the middle way, betwixt that which is called E-
 piscopal and Presbyteriall: What would you five have thought of this? and
 how (think you) would this have been taken by the Houses of Parliament,
 and by the Assembly? Whether would not you five, and some others of you,
 be sorry out of this, as a most strange fact, and have strongly mov'd, and
 agreed it with all your might, that this affront, both to the Parliament, and
 to the Assembly, so contrary to the nature and end of this meeting, to pre-judge,
 and pre-determine a Government, might be censured with a suspension from
 the Assembly, at least, if not an utter expulsion. [As for the discovering of
 your selves by this *Apologeticall Narration*, which otherwise you should have
 left unmov'd and experience: This Book is not only a little discovery of your
 selves, but a mighty discoverer of your ways and spirits; and shewes us
 what we may judge of you, who will put out in publike a piece so fallaci-
 ous, and untrue as this will appeare to be. But how ever this is the first dis-
 covering of your selves in this way, with all your hands subscribed: yet we
 have had a discovery of you for some yeeres past, both in your practises of
 withdrawing from our publike Assemblies; and in gathering and constitu-
 ting separated Churches; preaching (also) often on the points concerning
 your Church-way: as also writing Letters and other Manuscripts about those
 matters; with other ways, wherein time and experience of seven or eight
 years last past, hath been sufficient discoverers, and sure judges of you and
 your actions. And now we shall begin to make some appearance into publike
 view: whose view and judgements should we (that have hitherto shun-
 ned to make a cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions) at first present our selves;
 as a judicatory of this Kingdome, which is and hath been in all
 times.]

times the most just and severe tribunall for guiltinesse to appear before, much more to dare to appeale unto; and yet withall, the most sacred refuge and Asylum for mistaken and mis-judged innocence.

'Tis strange, that having kept out of publike light, (as you say) all this three yeeres space, you could not forbear a little longer from telling fine stories of your selves, and publishing your particular private opinions in print: Especially, considering there was an Assembly of learned Divines (of which you are Members) to declare unto, and with whom you might debate the points in difference: where (also) you know you have all freedome, and just respect. And I must tell you, 'tis the judgement of some of your good friends, that you were much mistaken in the time now, and that you had been far more excusable, if you had put out this *Apologeticall Narration* a yeere or two ago: they interpreting it a violation of the Ordinance, by which you are Members, a high affront, and contempt to the Assembly in pre-judging of it: and such a pre-ingaging of your selves, and party; as you cannot retreat so easily, and with that honour as you might before: As also, a ground of much disturbance and prejudice with the people against what shall be determined by the Assembly. As to that, you say, *we are begining to make some appearance into publike light*: In a sense 'tis true; for all the time that you have been in your Church-way, both in *Holland* and *England*, you have carried things closely; and conceal'd all that you could possibly, your opinions, and practises, with the grounds of them, from your brethren the Ministers, who studied and understood the points: But for tender conscienced, and weak Christians (especially such whom you had any interest in, any wayes, and you had any probability to gaine to you) you have not been wanting, either in Letters of Invitation, or commending some books of the Church-way to them: as also by preaching, and conference to draw them to you. As for that quere, *Unto whose view, and judgement, should we at first present our selves, but to the Supreme judicatory of this Kingdom?* I answer, 1. To any, rather then to the two Houses of Parliament, to present before them such a dark, covert, doubtfull, untrue Relation. 2. In these points of difference about Church-government and worship, you should have presented your selves rather to the Assembly then the Parliament, and if you consult the Ordinance (by vertue of which you are Members) you will find it more conformable to have first propounded your doubts to the Assembly, and if the Assembly could not have satisfied you, then afterwards you had an allowance of giving in your Dissents, with the grounds of them to both Houses. As to that passage, *Your having hitherto lain under so dark a cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions*: which you make the

ground of first presenting your selves to the Parliament by this Apologie:
 How does this agree with what you write in page 24? And we found many
 of our mistis that had gathered about us, or were rather cast upon our persons, in
 our absence, began by our presence againe, (and the blessing of God upon us)
 in great measure to scatter and vanish without speaking a word for our selves or
 our. And if at your first appearing, so many of those mistis, and in so great
 a measure were vanisht; then surely, by that time you writ this Apologie, all
 might have been vanisht and scattered: But let me aske you: Whose mis-ap-
 prehensions, doe you understand, you lay under, that you present this A-
 pologie to the Parliament, and appeale to them? Doe you meane, you have
 laine under the darke cloud of the manifold mis-apprehensions of the Parli-
 ament? or, of the people of the Kingdome? Certainly, not under the
 darke cloud of the mis-apprehensions of the Parliament, They are too great,
 and wide a Body, to be guilty of manifold mis-apprehensions of you: Be-
 sides, what Ministers have had the sun of their favour shining upon them,
 more then your selves? You all have been made Members of the Assembly
 by them, called to preach before them, upon their publike solemn occasi-
 ons: and some of you employed in extraordinary services: But if you under-
 stand the mis-apprehensions of the body of the people: why doe you present
 this Apologie to the Parliament? what would you have them doe for you?
 or how shall they free you from the darke cloud of manifold mis-appre-
 hensions? I suppose, you doe not expect, that the Houses should set forth
 a Declaration to cleere you five: neither make an Ordinance, that whosoever
 mis-apprehends you and your wayes, shall be reputed ill-affected to the pub-
 like (though *M. S.* your new great friend sets the brand of
 malignancie on them who are against you:) Why do you *M. S. A. Scap. 5.*
 then appeale to them, in respect of mis-apprehensions of the *page 83.*
 people? or trouble them with so triviall a matter? Do you not know, the
 people will mis-apprehend persons, and opinions, though plainly and ful-
 ly laid down? which yours never yet were. And indeed, for any cloud of
 manifold mis-apprehensions you have hitherto laine under, you may thanke
 your selves, and never appeale to the Parliament, to be a refuge, and Asylum,
 for your mistaken, and mis-judged innocence; when as, according to your
 owne confessions in this Apologie, going in a new, and different way from
 all the Reformed Churches, you have never yet declared what you hold, and
 what not: neither have answered the Books written against your way,
 nor have reserved your selves: And yet, whereas you pretend a cloud of ma-
 nifold mis-apprehensions as the ground in this way, first to present your
 selves, and to appeale to the Parliament: And 'tis a usuall phrase in the
 mouths

mouths of your party to put off arguments with, *that you are mistaken.* I know not for mine owne part, and some others of my brethren, wherein any of you have been mis-apprehended by us; but we have so farre judged of you, as to go by no other rules but your known practises, and your letters, and other manuscripts given, and sent out to your followers; and from what some who are of your owne Churches, and your familiar friends have held out, and pleaded for, as your Principles: together with what we finde in the printed Treatises of them of *New-England*, the *New-England* way being generally taken to be your way: and I heard Master *Bridge* since this Parliament open affirme it, for himselfe and others, we agree with them of *New-England*, and are of their Church-way: and Master *Burroughs* hath said so too.

As for the first presenting your selves to the Supreme judicatory of this Kingdome: had it not been, for the reasons given you above, I should not have spoken against it: but seeing you have appeal'd unto them, *unto whom you shall go*, and unto the Parliament as the most just and severe tribunall for justice, and withall, the most sacred Refuge and Asylum for innocence, I appeale too: humbly desiring them (if their great affaires can spare any time) to read this *Antapologie*, with the Reasons I, above two yeeres since, presented to the House Commons, against your *Helena* of Independencie, and your *Diana* of Toleration. Meane time I cannot but stand and wonder, that you knowing and acknowledging the Houses to be the Supreme Judicatory of the Kingdome, &c. how you had the face to present an appeale to them in things untrue: wherein many people can point to and say, passages in the 25. and 26. pages, are not so: *I heard* (saith one) *at such a Church one of the five preach of their Church-Way*; and *I heard* (saith another) *another of them, at such a Church, preach the like.* But why do I wonder? when it will appeare in the following discourse, you have so much in your owne cause at this time lost your selves, and forgot your principles; as that ye do ascribe to the grace of God, and call God to witnesse your constant forbearance of publishing your opinions by preaching, &c. which how untrue 'tis, I shall evince when I come to the 25. and 26. pages, or else let me suffer. And thus much for the occasion, or Preface of this Apologeticall Narration.

Apolog. The most, if not all of us, had ten yeeres since (some more some lesse) severall settled stations in the Ministry, in places of publike use in the Church, not unknown to many of your selves; but the sinfull evill of those corruptions in the publike worship and government of this Church, which all do now so generally acknowledge and decree, took hold upon our consciences long before some others of our brethren; And then how impossible it was to

in these times our service and standings, all mens apprehensions will readily be satisfied.]

Here begins the Narration wherein we may consider, the Matter of it; and the Manner and way of the carriage and contrivance of it.

The Matter consists, partly of Fact and Practise: and partly of Opinions and Tenents: both which all along in their Narration are interwoven with each other: Their Opinions and Tenents in their Practises, and their Practises in their Opinions. The matter of the Narration consists of three main parts: First, of their Opinion and Fact before their exile: The second of their Opinions and Practises in their Exile: The third of their carriage and behaviour since their returne into *England*, from their first coming over to the time of putting forth this Apologie. The manner of carrying it all along, is cloathing the Narration in such words, phrases, and in such a way (though the Church Principles are laid downe and maintained in it) to make the Parliament and Kingdome beleeve they differ little or nothing from the Reformed Churches, and from our Church now: And in the things wherein there is some difference, of which they give but three instances (though the differences be many, and so great in their account as to constitute new Churches, and to forsake communion upon them) yet they render them so to the Parliament and Reader, as if the reformed Churches in the differences between them could not but allow their way and practises, though there may be some just question about their owne. Now this *Apologeticall Narration* in all the parts of it both for matter and manner hath many flaws, both of untruths, and of doubtfull, dark expressions, consisting of generalities, &c. The particulars I shall observe all along, and give animadversions upon them in their proper place.

Now, before I answer to all the particulars contained in this Narration, I propound these two questions to the Apologists to consider of.

Quest. 1. Considering that all of you fell not off from the dark part together, nor upon enquiring into the light part at the same time, that you went not over into *Holland* together, neither lived in *Holland* nor *England* neere each other, neither communicated principles at first to one another; yea, were not some of you for a good time so much acquainted together, besides that you were not all in the same condition, with other different circumstances; nay, yet more that some of you, as Master *Bridger* and Master *Sympson*, for some yeeres in *Holland* so opposite to one another: How you five could in this Apologie all along, both concerning matters of Fact and Opinion in *England*, *Holland*, and since your returne, make such Narrations and solemne professions both positively and negatively

(not only every man for himself) but each in the Name of all and for all: Amongst many instances I will name these; 1. How you can in the third page, every man for the other, speake what is there expressed, for suppose Master Goodwin might look upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicially, &c. yet how can Master Goodwin speake this for Mr Symson and Master Bridge (the condition they were in being different from his) and I wonder how Master Symson and Master Bridge can write this as agreeing to them both, knowing so well the contrary, and having in many words and letters to their friends, charged each other with great partiality and self-seeking. 2. How could you in the sixth page, make that profession for one another, that all that conscience of the defilements, &c. did never work in any of us any other thoughts much less opinion, when as you knew not one anothers thoughts and opinions. 3. How you can in the 24, and 25, pages write for one another, *which we have not attempted in the least, we call God and men to witnesse our constant forbearance either to publish our opinions by preaching, &c.* when as you doe not know all that others of you may have done or preached.

Quest. 2 Seeing you doe in this Apologie write so often *we have so and so, and we have not, we had not, nor any of us,* supposing now some of you to have done, or not to have done, yet if it be found that any of you have done contrary, whether are not the others guilty in this case, and is not the proving such facts against any one or more of you, approving against you all and a direct confutation of your Apologie in those particulars: For instance, suppose Mr Ny and Mr Goodwin have not for their particulars published their opinions by preaching, nor attempted in the least to make apartie, but yet Master Bridge, Mr Symson, Mr Burroughs, have; and again, suppose Mr Goodwin, Mr Ny, Mr Bridge, Mr Burroughs have not gathered nor added to their Churches multitudes, but Mr Symson only, whether now Mr Goodwin and Mr Ny, having made professions, protestations in the Name of all, are not faulty and guilty too, & may not be justly charged in the Answer, of untruths in such particulars (though Mr Bridge and Mr Symson should only be formally guilty).

The foure first lines of this Section, containing the relation of your *scissions in the Ministry*, is granted you: But as to that part of this Section, *The sinfull evill of those corruptions in the publike worship and government of the Church, &c.* I desire to propound this question to you: Whether by the sinfull evill of those corruptions, in the publike worship and government of this Church, you understand the things reputed to be established by law, as the Book of Common Prayer: The Entrance into our Ministry by Ordination of Bishops, and living under the Episcopall government? Or whether, by the sinfull evill, the Innovations in the Government and worship, as bowing to

which came in of latter dayes? Now if you meane the first, that was usually called, Old conformity, in opposition to the New: So all do now generally acknowledge and decie that as sinfully evill; which appears thus: Because that Remonstrance presented to the House of Commons in the beginning of the Parliament, subscribed by many hundred pety Ministers, conformists, and non-conformists for Reformation in Worship, Doctrine, Government and Discipline, The Government, Worship and Ceremonies were impeaded, in respect of many inconveniences, and evill consequences; but Petitioning against them, as sinfully evill, and absolutely unlawful was declined: And there are many Parliament men and Ministers, who have a great zeale to the present Reformation in casting out the Hierarchy and ceremonies, who are not yet convinced that all their former practice in the way of old conformity, was sinfull: But as those times were, doe judge they did lawfully continue their standing in their places and in this Church: Much lesse are they satisfied that either Episcopall government, or the liturgy were sufficient grounds of forsaking our Publike Assemblies, and erecting new: Amongst a cloud of Learned and godly men, take the testimony

of *Gysen Bucerus*, in his learned answer to Doctor *Downham*, who for the point of Episcopacie allowes not of schisme in the Church, but vindicates himself and others who keep within the bounds of

Dissect. de Guber. Eccl. pag. 620. Quisam hujus criminis rei judicentur me quidem latet, neq; inquire ad nos attinet. Hoc scio, non convenire in eos, qui intra sententia nostra terminos se continent.

his opinion from being guilty in that kind. Which Answer to the first part of the Section is not here given by me, in the least to plead for the Hierarchy, Ceremonies or present Liturgy (for I heartily desire their removall) but only to shew the Apologists mistake in asserting that all do now so generally acknowledge and decie them as sinfully evill. And besides, if you understand these you cannot be ignorant that Episcopacy, and the old Ceremonies took hold upon the consciences of many others before you: even upon the good old non-conformists you speak of afterwards; Yea, and upon many of your Brethren (of the same time) long before you, as Mr R. Mr H. Mr S. Mr R. Mr A. Mr P. cum alijs: who yet never ran into your principles of forsaking the publike Assemblies, and gathering Churches: so that many non-conformists leaving the Ceremonies before you, and yet being farre from your Church-way, may counter-balance what you would gaine with the people by your Insinuations and Narrations, of leaving the Ceremonies long before some of us: But if by *sinfull evill*, you meane the Innovations, of bowing the Knees, &c. then those of us who stand for a generall Reformation, doe not acknowledge and decie them, and they took hold upon our consciences.

ences as soon as any of yours: We as much abhorring bowing to Altars, publishing the Declaration for Sports, &c. as you: and witnessing more frequently against them in our Ministry then some of you.

As to those lines in the close of this Section, *The impossibility of continuing your Standings in those times*, I confesse there was a great improbability of continuing your publike Ministry in those places of London, Cambridge, &c. But whether in some other parts of the Kingdom more remote and obscure you might not have enjoyed your Ministry without an impossibility, I question.

Apolog. Neither at the first did we see or look farther then the dark part, the evill of those superstitions adjoynd to the worship of God, which have beene the common stumbling block and offence of many thousand tender consciences, both in our own and our neighbour Churches, ever since the first Reformation of Religion: which yet was enough to deprive us of the publike exercise of our Ministeries, and together therewith (as the watchfullnesse of those times grew) of our personal participation in some ordinances; and further exposed us either to personall violence and persecution, or an exile to avoide it: which latter we did the rather chuse, that so the use and exercise of our Ministeries (for which we were born and live) might not be wholly lost, nor our selves remaine debarred from the enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ, which we account our birth-right, and best portion in this life.]

For some of you I judge this to be true, as of Mr Goodwin and Mr Myr; knowing something of the story of Mr Goodwins first comming to fall off from the Ceremonies, (having seen and perused the Arguments and Reasons that past beteen him and Mr Cotton and some others:) and Mr Goodwin assured me, some Moneths after his going off, that he had nothing to say but against the Ceremonies: The Lyurgy offended him not; much lesse dreamed of this Church-way he since fell into: So that is true, at first he saw but the dark part, and that but of the Ceremonies. But for others of you: as namely, Mr Bridge, and Mr Burroughs, whose hands are subscribed to this *Apologickall Narration*, (and this passage is spoken in the Name of you all, not some, or most of us, (as in some other passages) but *wee*; as relating to all, (they did not at first see the dark part, nor the evill of those superstitions, (namely the Ceremonies) but were men judged conformable, and practised conformity, till the yeare of Bishop Wrens Visitation, and the sending down to Norwich his Injunctions: about which time, and upon which occasion, Mr Bridge, with other Ministers of the City of Norwich, being first suspended, and Mr Burroughs afterwards at the Visitation: and times growing so very bad, that there was small hopes of admittance again into their places upon old Conformity, Mr Bridge took his degree *per saltum*, from a reputed Conformer

in the Church of England, and might have continued so till this present Par-
liament, (for ought I know) to fall suddenly into the Church-way, without
inquiring, or looking into the darke part or inquiring into the light part of
Church worship and government, as that short space between his suspension
from Church, and his being received into a Church at Rotterdam, and there-
upon his scarce Letters to some of his old friends in Nor- To his loving friends
wich, and to come from the Church of England, will fully Mr Henry King, Mr
show by which it is manifest, the sinfull evils of those Ce- Toft, Mr Smith, Mr
ments tooke not hold upon Master Bridge, and Master Raner, Mr Mapp.
through consciences till suspensions for Bishop Wrens Innovations first took
hold of them.

To confess the refusing of the Ceremonies in the places you were settled
in was enough to deprive of the publike exercise of your Ministeries in those
places: Especially considering the using of the Ceremonies could not pre-
serve some of you from suspensions; But the refusing of the Innovations,
was more enough to silence you there: But wheether the simple forbearing
of the Ceremonies (especially having left your places, and not taken others)
was enough to deprive you of your personall participation in some Ordinances,
and further exposed you, either to personall violence and persecution, or an exile
is what I much doubt, and am no way satisfied: Considering, notwith-
standing the watchfulnesse of those times, that many non-conformists did en-
joy, not only some, but a personall participation in all the Ordinances of
Worship, (as we use to speak:) namely, Word, Prayer, Sacraments, singing
of Psalms: and that in some good degree of peace (so as to be kept out of
the High-commission Court, and prisons) and were not put upon a necessity
of exile: And however, they resolved to venture some persecution, and vi-
olence to doe God some service in their own Country, rather then to leave
the Land, and desert the cause of God here, and so give it up wholly, as it
were) to the enemy: If all others had done as you five, according to an or-
dinary way, what had become of this Kingdome? But besides this, I remem-
ber some of you, as Master Goomin and Master Nye, after yee fell off from the
Ceremonies, did for some space, so long as you saw no farther then the darke
part, partake in the Ordinances here, and in that of the Lords Supper too,
without kneeling: And Master Nye's children were baptized without the
signe of the Crosse: And in the sixth page of this Apologie you acknowledge,
that some of you, even after you actually were in this way of communion, bap-
tized your children in Parishonall Congregations; which I suppose you would
not have done without liberty, from the evill of those superstitious annexed
to the worship of God: And further, for some three yeares space after
Master

Master Goodwin and Master Nye, saw the darke part, (nay, after some good time they saw the light part,) they stayed in the Kingdome, and were both of them publike enough, and preached sometimes, yet free from personall violence and persecution, and needed not for any personall persecution or violence they were under to have left the Kingdome: And so Master Barroughs, what ever his judgement was after his suspension about the darke part and the light part, was free and safe in the Kingdome till for some speeches spoken about the *Scottish Warre* in some company not to be trusted, he for feare thereof fled in all hast to *Rotterdam*. So that these things stumble me at the truth of these particulars, that you needed not have chosen for the bare refusing the Ceremonies, that which you so often terme *Exile* and *Banishment* to enjoy the Ordinances, and to avoide personall violence and persecution. But however this is held out as a fine story to the Reader, yet to me, there are other Reasons seeme more probable (which you thought good in your wisedomes to conceale) which made you chuse that which you so affect to call *Exile*, namely, that you might enjoy all the Ordinances of Christ, (as you use to speake) whereof some of them the Reformed Churches have not, and that in your Church-way of separated Assemblies (which is imply'd by you in the close of this Section) as also, that you might have some maintenance by the people that went over with you, and still hoped upon the bad times in *England* to draw over more, which according to the good old non-conformists principles you could not doe: As also, that you might secure your selves from all possibility and feare of persecutions, be certainly safe upon the shore whilst your brethen were at sea in the storme.

Apolog. This being our condition, we were cast upon a farther necessity of enquiring into and viewing the light part, the positive part of Church-worship and government; And to that end to search out what were the first Apostolique directions, patternes and examples of those Primitive Churches recorded in the New Testament, as that sacred pillar of fire to guide us. And in this enquire we look upon the word of Christ as impartially; and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and bloud are like to doe in any juncture of time that may fall out; the places we went to, the condition we were in, the company we went forth with, affording no temptations to byas us any way, but leaving us as freely to be guided by that light and touch Gods Spirit should by the Word vouchsafe our consciences, as the Needle toucht with the Load-stone is in the Compasse: And we had (of all men) the greatest reason to be true to our own consciences in what we should embrace, seeing it was for our consciences that we were deprived at once of what ever was dear to us. We had no new Common-wealths to reare, to frame Church-government unto, whereof any one piece might stand in the others light, to cause the least vari-

from the Primitive patterne; we had no State-ends or Politicall in-
 tends to comply with; No Kingdoms in our eye to subdue unto our mould;
 (which will be coexistent with the peace of any forme of Civill Government on
 earth.) No preferment or worldly respects to shape our opinions for: We had
 nothing else to doe but simply and singly to consider how to worship God acceptably,
 according to his word.

Thus being our condition, must relate to what goes before, which I judge
 from the litterall and gramaticall sense can be no other but this: That fall-
 ing from the Ceremonies, which was enough to deprive you of your Ministe-
 ries, and the participation of some Ordinances, and further exposed you to
 violence or exile to avoide it, which latter of exile you chusing rather for the
 ennobled, that put you upon a necessity of enquiring into and viewing the
 light part, the positive part of Church-worship and Government; Which words
 seem to carry this sense, that upon your chusing exile, you fell upon enquiring
 into the light part, and not before, and all the understanding Readers, whom
 I have spoken with about this passage, take them so: But because you doe
 not plainly say so, and your words may have some evasion; and I would not
 burden any thing on you, as said by you in this book that you affirme not; Let
 me put to you, for the understanding your minds, this question; Whether
 you take chusing an Exile, for, your resolution and purpose when you should
 be convenient time to leave the Land; (and not for your actuall leaving
 the Kingdome; and so fell upon enquiring and viewing the positive part of
 Church-worship and Government; and to that end to search out what were
 the true Apostolique directions recorded in the New Testament, whilst you
 were in the Kingdome? Or else, Whether after you were come into Holland
 and so actuall were Exiles, then you were cast upon the enquiring into the
 light part? Now if you meane, these words, in the first sense, and that the
 Reader must understand them so; which I must tell you, (as it is a very harsh
 sense, and for a Narration to speak so doubtfully, is not faire,) so all your dis-
 course following upon it in the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. page is vaine, and to no pur-
 pose to work that in the minds of the Reader which you drive at: Besides
 there are many passages in those pages cannot admit of such a sense, but plain-
 ly shew to your being in Holland; as, those words, *The places we went to,*
the condition we were in, the company we went forth with; and we had of all men
the greatest reason to be true to our own consciences in what we should embrace,
seeing it was for our consciences that we were deprived at once of what ever was
dearest to us; with many other like passages: But if you meane the words in the
second sense, as the coherence and scope of the discourse going before, and
following carry it; namely, that when you were in Exile, then you began to
search

search out the positive part of Church-worship and Government; let me propound my reasons, why I do not believe it, but do judge, that most of you (if not all) were upon the light part, and in the Church-way in your judgments before your leaving *England*, and so when you came over needed no great search into it. In the sixth page you speak expressly, that some of you were actually in this way of communion, and after that baptized your children in Parishonall Congregations; which words there exprest must of necessity referre to *England* before your going over, and cannot be understood whilst you were in *Holland* or since your returne into *England*, unless you meane things quite otherwise then you speak. And that you were beyond the dark part, the evill of those superstitions adjoynd to the worwip of God, (which have been the common stumbling-block of many thousand tender consciences, which cannot be understood but of the Ceremonies and some corruptions in the Lyrurgy) let me besides your own confession in the sixth page, put these questions to your consciences, and in your answer deny them if you can.

1. Whether some of you whilst you were in *England*, did not for a long time, wholly forbear coming to the Lyrurgy, and coming to the Lords Supper at all in our Congregations, because of the prescribed forme of Prayer, and mixt Communion?

2. Whether one of you five told not some friends that he had found out a forme of Church-government as far beyond Master *Cartwrights*, as his was beyond that of Bishops?

3. Whether another of you had not so much declared his judgement against the lawfulnessse of set formes of prayer prescribed, as thereupon, at the request of some great persons of worth, Master *B.B.* (now with God) had not a conference and dispute with him at Master *Knightsleys* upon it? And whether the same person residing near *Banbury* did not both by preaching and otherwaies vent many things against prescribed formes of prayer, and Communicating in our Assemblies, so that the Countrey thereabouts was much disturbed, and that painfull preacher Master *Wheatley* (now with God) much grieved by the falling off and withdrawing of some?

4. Whether also, one of these Apologists, was not so farre gone in the *Apol. Justa & necessaria per Joh. principes of the new Church-way*, as that he *Robins. cap. 6. De conjugio per* would not be married by Ministers, but desired *pastores Ecclesie celebrato.* marriage till he came into *Holland*, where presently after his coming he was married, (not in the way of the Reformed Churches there,) but by the Magistrates according to the way of the *Browns*, as it is laid down in *Robinsons Apologie*?

I aske, What some of you, whose Names are to this Apologie, with some of your way (who are now with God) with some Gentlemen, *settled* in *Buckingham-hiere*, the winter and spring before you went to *Holland*, and whether that company which went over with you into *Holland* were not engaged in the Church-way, and principles before you left *England*? And I aske, how long it was, when once you came to *Viana*, where you staid for a time, before you pacified your Church-way? Whether you had any long time of searching out what were the first Apostolique directions, before you fell to the practise of it? I deny not but you might adde something in your Church-way after your coming over; and had you staid so long this time you had added with a witness: of which I shall speake hereafterwards.

1. If Master Bridge carried not the positive part over with him, I aske, when upon the change of the ayre presently after his coming over, with you in your time of searching out what were the first Apostolique directions, how you admitted a Member in the Church-way, and then chosen one of the Elders of that Church at *Rotterdam*: And whether Master Burroughs, being formerly spoken, was not quickly admitted into the Church at *London*? So that, if these instances be true, here was no great time of enquiring and viewing, after Exile, before you fell to practise; nor no great time to search out what were the first Apostolique directions, patternes and examples of those Primitive Churches recorded in the New Testament. And to put it out of question that you were resolved of your Church-way before you left *England*, (at least Master Goodwin and Master Nye) I have a Letter by me under the *Antient* *Archbishops* hand the Pastour of their Church, dated *Septemb. 12, 1637.* which was about six weeks after landing, for in another Letter from him to me, written, I landed *July 27.* wherein he writes thus in way of an answer to a passage in a Letter of mine dated *August 23.* concerning his being in the Church-way; *As for your judgement and the work you are about, I heard of it before, and have not so long stood by afflicted, soberly and conscientiously to search out thereof, but have thoroughly spon into the bottome of it, in such a measure, as I am confident that in the end you will all come to me, and not ire to you.* And in the same Letter he speaks of all with him to be of the same judgement, which fully sheweth their engagement before they came to *Holland*.

But so the Dilemma, whether before your going into *Holland*, or whe the-
 reafter you fell upon the positive part of Church-worship & government;
 is so much in reference to that which followes upon it: for even that
 which is granted by you without any question, namely, your stumbling at the
 same, and there upon chusing Exile to avoide the possible hazard of
 personall

personall violence and persecution, which put you upon necessity of enquiring into the light part, hath much in it of self to byas, and to draw you to that way of Worship and Government in which you are in, that so you might be provided for, well and comfortably in your Exile with company and maintenance, (which only could be in these principles of your Church-way) for according to the non-conformists principles you could not have drawne any over, nor set up your Church-way: and I should in reason have thought, that had you been free and not cast upon this necessity by chusing Exile, (as myself and others were) in the studying of these points, (though in as much danger from the Prelaticall faction as your selves) you might more impartially and without preingagement have seen the truth: for it is too often seen, that necessity is *ingens telum*, and drawes aside often the judgement and practise of good and wise men: and so might do yours: And therefore you must pardon me if I question whether in your *enquiry into the first Apostolique direction*, you look upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicably as men made of flesh and blood are like to doe in any juncture of time that may fall out: I judge, the Reformers in the Reformed Churches of Geneva, Scotland, &c. upon many reformat, of Ch. sons, (some whereof are hinted by the Commissioners of Gov. in Scotland, the Church of Scotland) were like to looke more impartially, *pag. 4, 5. 18, 19.* and without prejudice upon the word of Christ, then you: they were not forced to fall on their Church-government, by necessity of Exile, but having learned it from the word, some of them suffered Exile for it: and others resolved to hazard the utmost for it, not upon every feare and imagination, forsaking their people and country; but resolving to do the will of God, and to promote his cause in their own country whatever it cost them: And besides the first Reformers, I beleieve there be many in these times, who studying these points have looked more impartially upon Church-Government and discipline, and been freer from engagements and worldly respects then your selves: and when I weigh the Reasons intimated of your impartiality, and free guidance by the Spirit, I am no way satisfied, but they were all to afford temptations to byas you that way you are in.

As first, For the Company you went forth with, both men and women were principled and engaged in the Church-way, and the company some of you went to, being in the open practise of it: And secondly, As for the Place you went to, namely, *Holland*, that gives liberty of conscience, and Toleration to sundry Sects, which is an invitation to Errours; So that you had certainly of enjoying your way there: Thirdly, As for the Condition you were in, (which is before specified,) so besides one of you was not willing, for some reason he knowes best, to live wholly upon his wives meanes, and so needed a Church

should allow him maintenance. Another being in debt: A third forced
 to the sure of severe punishment for words spoken left you not as freely to
that light and touch Gods Spirit should by the word vouchsafe your con-
science as the Needle toucht with the Loadstone is in the Compass: So that if these
 circumstances be well considered; with some others of the like nature; the
 Churches, being shut up here, of your publike Ministry, and the meanes
 of freedom to most of you, and without holding and maintaining these prin-
 ciples, there being no way of having Churches, whether it is not more pro-
 bable, you being men made of flesh and blood, (as that you confesse your selves)
 wilning hearts deceitfull as well as other men, may be partiall in this re-
 lation of your selves, and the temptations of company, place, condition, draw
 you hither, though you thought it not. But before I passe to other Rea-
 sons proposed by you in this page, I cannot passe over the high and great words
 of your selves, namely, *In this enquiry we lookt upon the word of Christ as impar-*
tially and unjudicially, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture
of time as may fall out: the places we went to, the condition we were in, the compa-
ny we were with affording no temptation to by as us any way, but leaving us as
freely guided by that light and touch Gods Spirit should by the word vouchsafe
our consciences, as the Needle toucht with the Loadstone is in the Compass.

Indeed, it had been more humility and modesty to have suspected your
 sin, and to have prefer'd in honour, others before your selves, and it had
 been more agreeable to the councill of the Holy Ghost, and not to have thus
 exalt your selves: Who are you? And what are you? that you should
 shew all this of your selves: The Apostles Saint Paul, Peter, James and
 John, would not have spoken these words of themselves: and indeed, some
 of the words do more suite the condition of Angels, and the spirits of just
 men made perfect, then men on earth subject to like passions as other men:
 What your condition, &c. afford no temptation, to by as you any way, but
 leaving you so freely, &c. 'Tis such a peece of selfe-flattery and pride, that
 hardly the Popes parasites have in the sense of these words exceeded: The
 great lights of the Church in the first Reformation, Luther, Calvin, Knox, &c.
 would have blusht to have had these lines affirmed of them, much more to have
 been spoken by themselves: but how nicely soever you may think of the Re-
 formers before you, in comparison of your selves (as some passages in your Apo-
 logy imply) yet how know you who may come after you to excell you as much
 in light, as you judge you do the Reformers that went before you, that you
 know of the time that may fall out, and is yet to come; can you foresee what men
 will do in aftertimes. As for that expresse reason: *You had of all men the*
best reason to take true to your own consciences in what you should embrace, seeing it

was for your consciences that you were deprived at once of what ever was deare to you: In which passage, you intimate your great sufferings above other men, as if you above others had the greatest reason to be true to your consciences, they not suffering like you: I must tell you, I know some men, that for God and his truth suffered more in *England* then all you five, and all your Churches put together did in *Holland*; who yet were against your Church-way. And for this reason, there is little strength or truth in it: and the former part of it is as likely to be true as the latter: Let me sadly put the question to you: How dare you affirme, that for your consciences you were deprived at once of what ever was deare to you? Were not your wives, children, estates, friends and lives deare to you? Had you not all these with you? and did you not in the *Netherlands* live in the best places, in much plenty, ease and pompe? But what great deprivation at once is this, of what ever is deare? For men to take their own times, and to goe in Summer time with Knights, Ladies and Gentlewomen with all necessaries into *Holland*, and there to take choice of all the Land where to reside, and with wives, children, in the midst of friends and acquaintance, free from the feares, and possibilities of vexations of the Spirituall Courts and Prisons, to enjoy all plenty and freedome, as you did: There are many would have been glad, and still would be of such a deprivation at once, as to be so Exiled into *Holland*, to be able to spend, two or three hundred pounds *per annum* there. And I must here minde one of you, in whose Name this reason is brought, that this cannot be affirmed of him, that for his conscience he was deprived at once of what ever was deare to him, being he fled into *Holland* for words about State matters. As for those other Reasons following: You had no new Common-wealths to reare, to frame Church-government unto: you had no State ends, or politicall interests to comply with; no Kingdomes in your eye to subdue unto your mould; no preferment or worldly rewards to shape your opinions for. Suppose all this to be true which you say, (which yet, I for my part, upon good reasons doubt) what will you build upon it? What followes, that therefore you must alone be in the right for Church-government? 'Tis denied; it no way followes: for many of the poore Anabaptists and Brownists had no new Common-wealths to reare, nor so many State ends, and politicall interests to comply with, as you (as upon good reason, and the experience of you here, all men will grant:) and yet you profess the Anabaptists and rigid Brownists are out of the way. And besides, Reformers of Ch. had not many of the first Reformers, (as the Commissioners Govern. in *Scot.* of the Church of *Scotland* well observe) as few Commonwealths to reare, as few State-ends, or politicall interests to comply with, as you? Nay, are not some of your greater States-men,

and look more to preferment and worldly respects, then ever they were there not amongst us in these times, men differing from your way, that eye Common-wealths, State-ends, and politicall interests as you do? Why then is all this brought in by you? *quorūsum haec?* The answer is all this, with the preceding passage, but to insinuate with the people, if you alone were the men that lookt so impartially and unprejudicially at the word; as if you alone had no State-ends, nor politicall interests, nor worldly preferments in your eye; and therefore in searching into the matter found out the right way: but other men, not having suffered as you, and having State-ends and worldly preferments to look to, &c. they are another way. But, as I said, I doubt concerning all these grounds given by you, You had new Common-wealths to reare; to frame Church Government, when you first fell to these principles; namely, the new Commonwealth of *New-England* to frame your Church-government unto, where some were first bound in your thoughts and purposes (as you well know,) and I shall make more evident in a following page: And therefore the Church-government there might stand in your light when you first enquired in the Church-way; and might cause some variation by you from the Primitive pattern, namely, to look too much to that where you thought to have Money and Subsistence: You had also, some ends, and interests, and worldly respects to comply with in your going into *Holland*; rather then *New-England* which you first intended: and these may fitly be termed State-ends, and politicall interests, namely, that when some great persons, Lords and others were forced, through the badnesse of the times, (as was expected and hoped) to seek for shelter in *Providence*, and *Hispaniola*, you might be there ready to move with them, and be taken along into those Countries, where you used to set up new Churches, and subdue those Countries and people which should come over, into your mould. Or if otherwise things in *England* should come to have a great turne, (as they had by this Parliament) then also by going to *Holland* rather then *New-England*, you were nigh hand, and your hand more at command, quickly to returne to *England*, having this Kingdom in your eye, hoping you might either subdue *England* into the way of your Church-government; or else gaine a great party to you in the Kingdom, (which we see is unhappily fallen out:) And besides, all the State-ends and interests to come, which you might look upon in your removing to *Holland*, were worldly respects and interests for the present, to make you goe the Church-way (as I have before observed.) And to all these, whereas you had no new Common-wealths, no Kingdomes to eye, to frame your Church-government unto; as the ground of falling upon the right way;

way; Let it be considered by you and the Reader, that the framing of a Church-government according to the conjunction of a few godly persons, whether in a Plantation, or as strangers in a Common-wealth; and not considering

Reformat. of Ch. Govern. pag. 18. 'Tis laid for a common ground by the Divines in all the Reformed Churches, that where a whole Nation is converted to the Christian faith, every particular Church is not to be left to it self as if it were alone in a Nation, but that Christ hath provided a way and there is a necessity of a common National government to preserve all the Churches in unity and peace.

ring of a Church-government for Nations and Kingdomes, that when Kingdomes and Nations do receive the faith, and the Magistrates are Christians and Orthodox, that there must be a Church-government as for a Nation and Kingdom; is that very thing that deceives you; there being, *alis ratio ubi ubi* bin, and to a great difference of governing a family two or three, or of a Towne, and of governing a Nation and Kingdom. But as for that Parenthesis you make, before you end this Section; (*That your Government will be co-existent with the peace of any forme of Civil Government on earth,*) out of the great care you have, least your Church-government should suffer in the thoughts of many; (that it is not consistent with the peace of Civil-government) 'tis so farre from truth, that your Government and Church-way cannot stand with the peace of any forme of Civil-government; no not with Democraticall government, much lesse Aristocraticall, or Monarchicall: but should it be but tolerated, much more established, as the government in a Kingdom and Nation; we should quickly finde the contrary with a witnesse. In this Intervall of Church-government we feel (without a formall toleration of it) wofull effects opposite to the peace and good of civill government: And I desire to know from you, how you will prove it, and we shall be assured of it, (for we dare not take your bare word;) seeing that never yet any Kingdom, or Nation entertained your Church-way and government, there being yet no experiment of it, which of the Presbyteriall government hath been in Kingdomes and Common-wealths, this fourscore yeares. And I must tell you that in *New-England* (which yet was farre from being a Kingdom and Nation) when they began to multiply and encrease, this government had like to have ruined them, both in Church and Common-wealth: and had they not enterposed, (and since doe daily) the power of the Magistrate, and many suitable principles to the Presbyteriall way, they had been ruined before this: and what yet will be the issue (unless they fall off more and more from their Independency) a little more will shew, and there are Letters from thence complaining of the continuance of necessity depending on that Government.

Apolog. *We were not engaged by Education or otherwise to any other*

Churches; And although we consulted with reverence what they hold in their writings and practise, yet we could not but suppose that they might have said things about worship and Government, their intentions being most spent upon the first Reformation in England) upon the Reformation in Doctrine, in which we had a most happy band: And we had with many others observed, that the exercise of that Government had been accompanied with more peace, yet the spiritual part, the power of godlinesse and the profession thereof, with difference in small and formall Christians, had not been advanced and held forth among us in this our Island, as themselves have generally acknowledged. We had the display of all that light which the consists of our own Divines (the good old Nonconformists) had struck forth in their times; And the draughts of Discipline which they drew; which we found not in all things, the very same with the practise in the Reformed Churches; And what they had written came much more commendably because they were our own, but because sealed with their manifold sufferings. We had likewise the fatall miscarriages and shipwracks of the Papists (whom ye call Brownists) at Lond-marks to forewarn us of those things which they ran upon; which also did put us upon an inquiry into the causes that might be the causes of their divisions. Last of all, We had the recent example of the wayes and practises (and those improved to a better Edition by all the fore-mentioned helps) of those multitudes of godly men of our Nation, almost to the number of another Nation, and among them some such judicious Divines as this Kingdome hath bred; whose sincerity in things hath been testified before all the world, and will be to all generations to come; by their most undertaking (but that of our father Abraham out of his own Country; and yet after him) a transplanting themselves many thousand miles distance, into a wilderness, merely to worship God more purely, whither it should have been could be no other intendment: And yet we shal stand as un-engaged persons free to examine and consider what truth is to be found in and amongst all these (of which we looke upon as Reformed Churches) and this nakedly according to our own hearts. We resolved not to take up our Religion by or from any party, and yet to hold fast whatsoever is good in any, though never so much differing from our own opinions unto us.]

Now if you had been engaged by Education, or otherwise to any of the Reformed Churches, that you had seen the order and peace in the Reformed Churches; and had you conversed with them before you were in these opinions; you had never been transported with them in so many most worthy Churches: but to what end is this brought forth? These particulars newly mentioned in the foregoing page; We have said that passage in the close of the last Section: We had no-
 E thing

thing else to do but simply and singly to consider how to worship God acceptably, and so most according to his Word? unlesse to inſinuate, and to caſt an ſhadow upon all others; they had ſo and ſo; and they were engaged by Education and otherwiſe: (a fine Rhetoricall way of caſting blemiſhes upon all others, and freeing your ſelves) as much as in plaine Engliſh to ſay, That State-ends, politicall intereſts, preferments and worldly reſpects, engagements by Education, and ſuch like; with the ſtreame of publike intereſt, might beare all others down, that they ſhould not finde out the truth: but you, alas! good men, ſo free from being any thing to do in this world, or regarding worldly preferments, or hanging upon your perſons, that you muſt needs finde out the truth. But as you would bring Education in, and converſing with the Reformed Churches, as the by-way draw many to the Preſbyteriall way; So let me tell you, though you were not engaged any way to the Reformed Churches of Europe, yet you were many wayes to the Reformed Churches of New-England; and to ſome private men in New-England; by a high admiration of them. One of you (more ſpecially) was ſo engaged in his high thoughts of one of the Miniſters of New-England, (by whom alſo, I am ſure he was firſt taken off the dark part) that he hath ſaid, there was not ſuch another man in the world againe: Which Miniſter, after his going into New-England, and falling into the Church-way there, and ſending over Letters into England, about the New-way; preſently after theſe Letters, began the falling off, and queſtioning Communion in our Churches: and before theſe Letters were ſent into England, and the copies of them communicated to divers; I never by diſcourſe with any of you, nor from others, heard, that you were fallen into the Church-way. As for your conſulting with reverence what the Reformed Churches held forth, both in their writings and practice, that could be no long time, (as appears by what I have before proved,) and beſides, the ſhort time you took to conſult of Church-government and worſhip after your landing in Holland, there are many paſſages in this Apologie ſhew no great reverence towards them; and if a man ſhould gueſſe of your reverence to the Churches of Scotland and France by many of your way, both Miniſters and people, what they ſpeak of Preſbyteriall government, and of theſe Churches; he would conclude it were very little: But theſe good words of the Reformed Churches, are to make way for a back-blow to thoſe Churches, and to get ſome advantage ſtill to your own way, namely, that you could not but ſuppoſe that they might not ſee into all things about worſhip and government; their intentions being moſt ſpent upon the Reformation in Doctrine, &c. And why may not I ſuppoſe the ſame thing of Goodwin, Maſter Nye, and the reſt of you? that you may not ſee into all things about worſhip and government; for if they might not, then much more not you.

...welling you in piety, learning, sufferings, yeers : But suppose
 the Reformed Churches might not, yet considering that it is now above four
 hundred years since government and worship was purged (as well as Reformation
 begun, which you say was so well settled at first) and since, so many ques-
 tions and controversies having risen about Worship and Government in their
 Churches and ours; as about *Moralists*, and about the Anabaptists and Brow-
 nists, and of late the Independents: and these differences having been deba-
 ted in Synods and Assemblies, having heard and seen all they could say against
 the Reformed government, and what could be said for themselves; if either
 of you had the truth on your sides; what reason can you give, why they
 did not see into it upon so much enquiry, study and dispute, the Reformed
 Churches being more free to entertain truths, and change somewhat in their
 Worship than you were in your first entertaining this New-way? For ex-
 ample the Churches of *France*, living under persecution for their Religion,
 as in truth of God, if your way had any truth in it, it were all one for
 them to receive yours as their own. As to that passage in
 your Book concerning the good old Non-conformists, that you say, *We had
 the benefit of all that light which their conflicts struck forth in their times, &c.*
 You have a great part of their light, as in Master Cartwright, Master Hilder-
 bridge, was against the Separatists and their practises (as their writings tes-
 tify) as well as against the Diocesan Bishops and Ceremonies; and it had been
 better you and this Kingdom, that you had made better use of their light,
 and draughts of Discipline; the Reformation had been more easie,
 the Church partly more united; and the common enemy had never concei-
 ved such hopes, and taken such heart as he does from your opinions. And what
 can you say, it seems, that a great part of what the good old Non-confor-
 mists came not much commended to you, (though your own, and for all
 that) because you follow it no better.

As to the passage about the Separation (following the passage of the Non-
 conformity) It is well; you acknowledge that the Separation had fatal mis-
 carriages and ship-wracks in their way: and it was well you took such notice
 of it, that you counted them as Land-marks to fore-warn you of those
 dangers whereto they ran upon: and that thereupon you did enquire into the
 causes that might be the causes of their divisions: this is one of the best
 passages in your Book: (As there are foure passages (among so many bad) that
 are full of mischief: one of the Parliament: A second of the Assembly of Di-
 vinity, this of the Separatists: The fourth, a description of many of
 the wicked people of this Kingdom:) But it had been better you had
 made a use of this observation and enquiry in Gods visibly witnessing

from Heaven against the Separation, in giving them up to fearfull sin, and
 flitting fearfull judgements, and leaving them to strange divisions (which
 your selves allude to in this passage) and you know was in the stories of *Brown*,
Bolton, *Barrow*, *Smith*, *Johnson*, &c. so as to have kept further from their
 principles; and thereupon to have feared forsaking communion with our
 Churches, and setting up Separated Assemblies, and agreeing so much with
 them in most of the fundamentall and essentiall principles and practices, and
 not to have come too nigh to them against whom God witnessed by so many fa-
 tall miscarriages and ship-wracks, as only to refine and qualifie *Brownisme*,
 and to spin it of a finer thred then the old Separatists did. But let me
 put this Dilemma to you: Seeing the Separatists fatall miscarriages and ship-
 wracks, did put you upon an enquiry into the principles and causes of their
 divisions; upon the enquiry either you found out and discovered those prin-
 ciples, or you did not; If you did not discover them, why do you inferre these
 words here? and carry it so to make the Reader believe as if you had; and
 that you declined the rocks and helmes they ran upon: But if you did discover
 those principles of the *Brownists*, which were the causes of their divisions,
 why do you passe them over in silence? In this *Apologeticall Narrative* you
 make many a parenthesis, and addition to what you are speaking of, nothing
 so materiall or proper to the points in hand (for example, In that passage im-
 mediately following these words, you lanch out into the high praise of *New-
 England* in many lines) as the laying down those principles, which are the
 causes of the *Brownists* divisions, weuld have been: So that I much wonder
 (if you found them out) that you past them over in silence, for these might
 have been of great use to the Separatists themselves for the time to come, and
 of great use to have preserved others from *Brownisme* who are inclining this
 way, besides the benefit to your own party by looking upon them to prevent
 the like fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks in their way: so that I know not
 how this omission of yours can be excused. Besides, how came it to pass,
 that you who are the Authours of this *Apologie*, and your Churches made no
 better an use of all your enquiry and discovery? but in the time you were so
 broad to fall into the same fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks, namely the
 same divisions and sins; nay, greater and worse then some of the Separatist
 Churches did, (as ever I heard.) For proof whereof I have been informed both
 by word of mouth and Letters from good hands of these following particulars.

In *Holland* there were but two Churches of your way and communion,
 one of which was at *Rotterdam*, where Master *Bridge* and Master *Symphon* were
 members, and afterwards Master *Burroughs*: which Church of *Rotterdam* (like
 the old Separatists at *Amsterdam*) split into two; Master *Symphon* at first

after him sending themselves from Master Bridges Church to the
 Church thereof; Master Symphon setting up a new Church, Master White
 and his wife only at first joyning with him: Master Symphon
 being founded by a woman, (Master Bridge himselfe heretofore selling
 calling Mistrisse White the Foundresse of that Church.) And after
 setting up a Church against a Church under Master Bridges
 Ward, Master Bridges colleague, and old friend at Norwich was
 from his Ministry and office, for frivolous matters and some dissen-
 sion in Master Bridges Church: And here if I should but relate all the main
 points fell out between these Ministers and their Churches, after this
 Deposition within the space of a year following, namely the
 into England, each for themselves, and against each other; all the
 of one another; and all the bitterness and revilings between the
 of Master Bridge and Master Symphon; with the desperate scandals
 cast out (especially upon Master Bridge,) the Readers eares
 and I should be too long; especially, because I must touch up-
 againe when I come to that story related in the *Apologie*, page 16.
 Church was first at *Viana*, then at *Arnhem*, of which Master Goodwin
 and Master Nye were Teachers, concerning which Church, if I should but
 the strange conceits and opinions held, and practised in that Church,
 (before Master Goodwin and Master Nye's coming
 into England, with all the differences and divisions that fell out; I should
 answer too large: I will for the present relate these few passages, re-
 till I put out a Rejoynder upon their Reply to this Answer.
 the sick with oyle was held in that Church of *Arnhem*, as a standing
 for Church members, (for others had no right to that ordinance)
 of hands was a standing ordinance for Church Officers: There
 amongst them in many hands, proving it to be so, and there were
 propounded, with what oyle the sick members of the Church were
 and there was a resolution of the case, namely with Olive oyle.
 this writing some Ministers of the Assembly have perused, and one so
 is amongst his papers in the Countrey. M Goodwin did anoint a Gen-
 (whose name I conceal) when she was sick, & she recovered after it (they
 Gentleman of note in that Church, (one of those two so much commen-
 of this Book, for wisdom & piety,) did propound in the Church, that
 of Hymns was an ordinance, (which is, that any person of the Congrega-
 their own gifts, should bring an Hymn and sing it in the congre-
 all the rest being silent and giving audience;) now upon the propoun-
 another gentleman did oppose it, (as not judging it an ordinance)

to whom the former Gentleman replied, that he destroyed in opposing that, what he had built up; whereupon words passing between them, a difference grew between these two Gentlemen; and this second Gentleman was complained of to the Church by the first: and upon hearing the whole business, and all words that past between them, this second Gentleman was censured by the Church, and Master Nye charged sin upon him (that was the phrase) in many particulars, and still at the end of every charge Master Nye repeated, *This is your sin*: After this censure so solemnly done, the Gentleman censured, brings in Accusations against Master Nye in severall Articles, charging him with pride, want of charity, &c. in the manner of the censure; And shewing brought before the Church, continued in debate about half a year, three or foure dayes in a week, and sometimes more, before all the Congregation: divers of the members having callings to follow, they desired to have leave to be absent: Master Goodwin oft profest publicly upon these differences, *While were their Church-fellowship he would lay down his Eldership*, and nothing was more commonly spoke among the members, then that certainly in matter of Discipline, they were not in the right way, for that there was no way of bringing things to an end: At last, after more then half a years debate, not being able to bring these differences to an end, and being to come into *England*, they had their last meeting about it, to agree not to publish abroad when they came into *England*; hoping that God would give some opportunity when they came into *England* to make an end of it, which whether it be ended yet I doubt much, because of some speeches reported to me spoken by one of these persons concerning the other two: Now if this Church of *Arubim*, consisting of Ministers, moderate and wise, standing upon their credits and reputations, and of prime Gentlemen, and pickt Christians, being in exile, and leaving all for their consciences (as they say) do yet run into such strange conceits, and break among themselves thus, what can be expected of Independent Churches here, that may consist of raw and fiery spirited men, and of the vulgar and all kind of spirits?

But before I leave this passage of yours concerning the Separation, pray let me aske you the reason of this Parenthesis, and to whom you spoke it, (whom ye call Brownists?) and why could you not have writ, who are commonly called Brownists? Is it not to both Houses of Parliament to whom this Apologie is presented, and to whom you appeale? your discourse being carried as spoken to them; and does not this phrase of speech carry with it a secret check of the Houses for calling the Separatists Brownists, calling them so, as you would not call them? But who are you, that you may not have (for so much as concernes this) in the language of both Houses? if both Houses call

Brownists, why may not you give terme them so? but, we may guesse that Master Browne and your principles are to nigh a kin, and you fear-ly might be called so: but let me tell you, though the Reformed Church may not be called disgracefully *Calvinists*, (as the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland have well observed (pag. 9.) in their late Book) yet Brownists, and all Sectaries may fitly be termed from the Authours, and the Separatists, justly called Brownists, because, as he was one of the first in that way; so he was the first that digested that way into forme, and writ so for it: and the first that visibly and openly drew so many of this Kingdome beyond the Seas: and therefore both Houses of Commons, and others too, may truly terme those who goe in *Brownes-way*.

In our last passage in this Section, *that last of all, We had the recent and later example of the wayes and practises of those multitudes of godly men of our own Nation*, which (without so many words) you might have said *New-England*; but in purpose you would take an occasion of extolling them to the Heavens, and render both your selves and way in them more glorious both to the learned and people, into whose hands your Apologie should come. Sure, you might more truly and ingeniously have put them in the first place, and have said, First of all, *We had the recent and later example of New-England*; which I thought (to my knowledge) with some of you very much: and that the hopes and intentions of some of you, were first for *New-England* (as you remember some of you told me.) One of you marrying a wife in reference to *New-England*; and how farre he was hindered, or altered by his wife he knows. Another of you, having sent over goods before, (and by *books*) where he meant to follow after. (I have a very bad memory, if these things be not so.) A third, (namely, Master Symphon) when he desired his dismission from that Church at *Rotterdam*, he alleadged that as much, that he was intended for *New-England*: but I must examine the *Example*, which by you here, of *New-England*; and see whether it make it hold; *New-England* must not have the allowance of that figure in Rhetorick called *Hyperbole*. The first part of the praise is, *Multitudes of godly men of our own Nation*; and the second is, *the number of another Nation*. Are the godly men in *New-England* the number, that they are almost the number of another Nation, that is, that they should make such another Nation as *England*? then *New-England* must have godly persons in it then *Old-England*; for the multitudes of godly persons in it, are not almost so many here, as to make another Nation: and if it be found, that granting, all the men in *New-England* were godly, yet you dare not affirme) seeing multitudes live there without the Church,

Church, who are not accounted visible Saints) yet what are they to so many people as are in *England*? reckon up all the persons in *New-England*, good and bad, and list them, and they will be found not to come almost to the number of the Nation that lives in *London*; nay, hardly to come to the twentieth part there: What are they then in *New-England* to this whole Kingdom and then do but subtract all that are not of their Church, and it is evident your affection is better to *New-England* than your Arithmetick, and in this particular, that Proverb of *Almost* must help you: But shall I give you the reason of this stretching here? 'Tis to possess the Parliament and Kingdom what a great party you have for your Church-way, Almost another Nation in *New-England*, and Almost another Nation of your way in old *England*, which may serve to ballance your opposite party of Presbytery in *England* and *Scotland*; and therefore the Parliament shall do well to take notice of your Numbers, to grant you a Toleration (at least) of your Church-way, lest you being such multitudes should, &c. I could tell stories, what some of your way have spoken, if they might not have their way; but I shall spare them now. The second part of your praise of *New-England* is, *And among them some a holy and judicious Divines at this Kingdome hath bred*: That there are holy and good Divines among them, whom I truly love and honour, I acknowledge: but I judge this too transcendent a phrase, and more then befits the worth of holiness, *Some a holy and judicious at this Kingdome had bred*: It had been an expression high enough to say, as holy and judicious Divines as any you now know in this Kingdome; but to say as this Kingdome hath bred; how know you that? and how can you affirm it? You were not acquainted with many who lived before (being all young men, to speak of) so that there might bee (before your times) men more judicious and holy: and if we may judge by the works of some men, and by their lives written, and by the reports from good hands of the godly, ancient Ministers, there were men, more judicious and learned, then any now in *New-England*, as *Whitaker*, *Reynolds*, *Brightman*, and others; and more holy, as Master *Greenham*, Master *Bmes*, old Master *Dod*, &c. But for the holy and judicious Divines of *New-England* there are not above three or foure at most were ever accounted so eminent, (I might say but two) and yet the present age hath Divines in *England* to compare with them, both for learning, judiciousnesse and piety: so as you needed not to have gone back to the ages past. Take the prime men of them all in *New-England*, and yet, he is not to be accounted as judicious and learned as ever any this Kingdome bred: Doctors and Divines never held any opinion that was accounted dangerous; nor any private peculiar opinion but what

in the Church of God (as it is reported in his life) but the most
 humble in *New-England* (though he be an excellent and worthy
 man) and I referre you for proof to his Discourse a-
 gainst the doctrine of Reprobation (which is in some of your hands)
 being deceived (for a time) in the businesse of Master *Wheelwright*
 and *Hutchinson*, and some of those opinions about Sanctification &
 Justification: and to some other manuscripts and printed things a-
 gainst Church-way, where there are many things of wit and fancie more
 than deep judgement. In your third part of your praise, rises so high, as 'tis hardly to be paralleld:
 The family of *Abraham* of *New-England* in their way testifi'd before all the world,
 and to all generations to come by the greatest undertaking (but that of our
 forefather *Abraham* out of his own Country, and his seed after him) in transplant-
 ing themselves many thousand miles distance, and that by sea into a wilderness,
 to testify some Independents then must write their Chronicle, or else
 the world will not be so testified to all the world, neither will they be so
 famous to succeeding generations: It is well that in this high praise of
 your undertaking to *New-England*, there was some exception, and that *Abra-
 ham* rather was excepted: (how ever in the instance you presently give
 of your undertaking) you secretly preferre the men of *New-England* before
Abraham, for *Abraham* went by land, and not by sea; and not many
 hundred miles distance, nor into a wilderness: But I am not satisfied in the
 world this undertaking for *New-England*, but am of the mind, there both
 were greater, and more, greater undertakings, (besides *Abraham* and his seed after
 him, that of *Moses* and *Aaron*, carrying the people out of *Egypt*,
 and leading them through the wilderness to *Canaan*; of *Nehemiah* and *Zer-
 ubabel* in building the Temple: besides, the present undertaking of the
 Church for Reformation in Church-government and worship, against the
 Papists and Maligants, (which you had seen when you writ this) of
 more fame, greater, and is testified before the world, and will be to all
 generations to come, farre beyond that of *New-England*: 'Tis strange to
 see you should thus forget your selves to make the undertaking of *New-Eng-
 land* the greatest that ever was in the world but that of *Abraham*:
 In particular, we see good men are apt to be for their owne party; and
 are blind in their owne cause. And as I am no whit satisfied in this third
 part of your praise of *New-England*, so not in the truth of the thing
 that you name they went to *New-England* for, namely, meerly to worship
 God more purely, whether to allure them there could be no other incentive:
 which was first held out and most spoken of in the beginning of that

Plantation in *New-England*, was the hopes of converting the *poore Indians*. There were some Ministers of note and others who dealt first in this business, and were prime actors in it, that propounded that, and really intended it. *Master White of Dorchester*, *Master Humphrey*, (and I am forgetfull if I have not read some things printed to that purpose.) As for the worshipping God more purely, (if your words could beare that sense, or you understood some of being freed of the Ceremonies, and of Episcopall government, which was some part of the designe and aime, (though not meerly that,) but if by worshipping God more purely be meant, the worshipping God in the Church way, and the Church-government pleaded for in this *Apologie*, it was not in the thoughts of them who were the first movers in it, or of the Ministers who were sent over in the beginning, (as is apparant by a Letter of *Master Cotton* sent to *Master Skelton* a Minister) upon his falling into the Church way after he came over, wherein *Master Cotton* writes to him, that he was from *England* of another judgement, and tels him how this came about, namely, from them of *New-Plymouth*, who were *Master Robinsons* people, and further unto many who went over to *New-England*, after the first and second yeere, there were other invitations, then meerly worshipping God more purely, some of them concluding peremptorily this Kingdome would be destroyed, and there would be a hiding place, as also the great commodiations of the Countrey and Land for subsistence, (many being low in their estates here, (led many into a fools paradize, who finding all things contrary to the high reports given out, and their expectations, have had time enough to repent since; And some of you, (who to my knowledge intended for *New-England*) yet when you came to understand better, what a small Countrey it was, would not be of the number of them, whose sincerity should be testified before all the world, and unto all generations to come, by going to *New-England* to worship God more purely, when to allure you thither, there was no other invitation. And now after all this large Narration of your falling off from the dark part, and of your inquiring into the light part, and the story of your impartiall looking upon the word of Christ, and of your consulting with Reformed Churches, and looking upon the old Non-conformists, and observing the Separatists, together with the examples of *New-England*, you plainly come in the close of this Section, to declare that, for which all this was written, namely, to possesse the Reader of your freedom and un-engagement, notwithstanding all this, to take that way, or every thing in each way, that was truth, whereas you would insinuate, that other men who differ from you, were not so free, nor un-engaged; But how likely this is, and how un-engaged and free you were, I desire the Reader to remember.

(if not proofs,) I have already brought (to prove the
 those two Parentheses brought in of the way of *New-England*,
 improved to a better Edition, and greater refinement by all the fore-
 and that, all which we look upon as reformed Churches: To the
 say, 1. It is a high confidence, and presumption, to judge the
 practices of a few in *New-England*, to be better, and more refined,
 all the Reformed Churches in Christendome. 2. What ever the B-
 refinement of *New-England* is, they made little use of all the fore-
 named helps, named by you to attain unto it, few of them consulted with
 the Reformed Churches, &c. But the maine ground of their im-
 to this new Edition and great refinement, (as you terme it,) was
 with them of *New-Plymouth*, as appears both by Master
 later, and by other relations. To Mr Rathb. Narration of Ch. courses,
 I can judge no other reason of p. 4. The rest of the Churches in *New-*
 there, nor of calling the way of *England*, came at first to them in *Ply-*
 in that first Parentheses, a mouth to crave their direction in Ch.
 and greater refinement, then courses and made them their pattern.

the Reformed Churches; but only, that we may understand, in what
 that part of the Covenant, to be brought to agreement with
 Reformed Churches, that you meant and accounted *New-England*,
 Reformed Churches, and so satisfied your consciences in taking that
 the Covenant; whereas we look upon the Reformed Churches,
 France, Scotland, Holland, &c. who are known to us, by their con-
 I never knew till this *Apologie* came forth, that ever the *Chur-*
New-England were stiled the Reformed Churches, as the Brownists
 never yet were, unto whom yet the Parentheses relates as well
 of the other Churches.

And for our own Congregations, we meane of *England* (in which
 the grace of Christ we were converted, and exercised our Ministries
 the conversion of many others) we have this sincere profession to make
 and all the world, that all that conscience of the defilements, we conceived
 the true worship of God in them, or of the unwarranted power in
 exercised therein; did never work in any of us any other
 much lesse opinion, but that multitudes of the Assemblies and Parochi-
 were the true Churches and body of Christ, and the Minis-
 Ministry. Much lesse did it ever enter into our hearts to judge
 we saw and cannot but see, that by the same reason the *Chur-*
 in Scotland, Holland, &c. (though more reformed) yet for their

mixture must be in like manner judged no Churches also, which to imagine we conceive, is, and hath ever been an horror to our thoughts. Yea, we always have professed, and that in these times when the Church of England were the most either actually overspread with defilements, or in the greatest danger thereof, and when our selves had least; yea no hopes of ever so much as visiting our own Land againe in peace and safety to our persons; that we both did and would hold a Communion with them as the Churches of Christ. And besides this profession, as a real testimony thereof some of us after we actually were in this way of communion, baptized our children in Parishionall Congregations and (as we had occasion) did often receive into the Communion of the Lords Supper with us some (whom we knew godly that came to visit us when we were in our exile) upon that relation, fellowship and commembership they held in their Parish-Churches in England, they professing themselves to be members thereof, and belonging thereunto. Who we have since our returne publicly and avowedly made declarations of to this purpose, many hundreds can witnesse, and some of our brethren in their printed books candidly do testifie for us.]

In this Section you come to declare your judgements concerning the Congregations of England and the Ministry of them, wherein you apologize for your selves in regard of misapprehensions you might lye under, in respect of your judgements concerning them; For what good you speak of them now, and for owning them as your own, in which you were converted, and in which you converted many others, I thank you; But for the sincere profession you make before God and all the world, that all that conscience of the defilements you conceived to cleave to the true worship of God in them, or of the unwarranted power in Church Governours exercised therein, did never work in any of you, any other thought, much lesse opinion, but that multitudes of the Assemblies and Parochiall Congregations thereof were the true Churches and body of Christ, and the Ministry thereof a true Ministry: much lesse did ever enter into your hearts to judge them Antichristian. You must pardon me, if I believe not this profession, Nay, I must tell some of you, that if Letters and other Manuscripts which go out under some of your names, and are in my hands, be yours, (as I have great reason to believe they are,) I shall prove this sincere profession of yours, to be insincere, and shall evidence the contrary to what you profess before God and the world, namely, that the corporations, which did cleave to our worship, and the unwarranted power, did not only work thoughts and opinions in you, that our Churches and Ministers were not true, but that you expressed so much and acted in the vertue of it, as, even to judge them Antichristian; There are some passages in one Letter (more especially amongst others,) written by Master Bridge, to his loving friends.

...in *Narnwich, Mr Henry King, M^t Toft, M^t Smith, Mr Rayner,*
 the substance of which Letter to them is, 'Not so be content with
 the name of bearing, but to look out after the plat-form of Government, left
 by our Apostles, by Elders, Pastors, Teachers, Deacons and Widen-
 ders, and to consider, that every Church hath the power within it self, and is not
 ruled by one Officer, or by another Congregation, but to the whole body, and to
 the whole of the member is a part, (And then Master Bridge falls upon Episcop-
 al government, under which these friends of his lived, as Antichristian,) under
 their Episcopall government under which they lived, was Papall and Ro-
 man, and then brings in these words; And will you then submit unto it; what be-
 comes of them that do worship the beast, and what of them that receive his marke,
 Rev. 14. 9, 10. It is a worshipping, it is a receiving a marke to practise
 by (namely, constitution or order that is framed or enjoined by that government :
 that is, to have no Elders, Pastors, &c. What? you say, stand, kneel at the com-
 mands of that government; And in the Postscript of this Letter, he adds these
 words; In a Pepper-corne may acknowledge a Land-lord, and the standing
 Order may acknowledge the government. Now I demand of Master
 Bridge and the other Apologists, what multitudes of the Assemblies and Pa-
 rish Congregations were there in England, that were wholly exempt
 from the Government? or whether there was any that did refuse wholly,
 the Orders enjoined by that Government? and if so, whether then in
 Master Bridges opinion, and in his Letters all our Congregations and Mini-
 sters were not Antichristian, in worshipping the Beast, and receiving his mark,
 to the world, and his own conscience judge? And for further proof, un-
 der Master Bridges Letters were seven Questions annexed and pro-
 posed concerning the Ministry, worship, and constitution of the Church
 Ministers in England, the usuall questions the Brownists make: I have also
 the copy of a Letter written from Master Symson to a man of note in Lon-
 don (whose name out of respect to him, I conceal) the substance of which
 Letter may have him consider, 'Whether he may live without all the Ordinances,
 and yet be any where so be had, or live in danger of daily defilement, and there
 standing which together with these, he desires him to think upon, namely, what
 the law and condition is, wherein we should enjoy the Ordinances, we should call
 the means of salvation or Ordinances, but what God hath appointed to his
 Church. A Church is Christs body, it consists of holy members, in shew at least,
 united to Christ, as to a Head, and as there is a bond whereby we are in-
 joined to him, so is there a bond to him visibly. Ceremonies are nothing in re-
 spect of this, they make things accidentally evill, according as this is, things are, or
 are not ordinances, and means of salvation. Baptisme is no baptisme, unless it

'be administered by a Minister: A Minister is no Minister, unless called by the
 'Church, and so I might speak of antichristians. By all which it will appear that
 Master Symson had thoughts, and doubts, and would have others have such
 thoughts too, that we have neither Churches, nor Ordinances, nor Ministers,
 according to his definition of a Church; and to the matter contained in his
 Letter, and in the close of his Letter though he writes, 'I meddle not with
 'ing of these things with you, but propose you a rule, or way to judge of things by.
 'I dare not say, your Congregations are not Churches, but desire you to judge
 'they be so, for your own peace, yet it is evident by what he saies in his Letter,
 that he accounts, neither our Churches, nor our Ministers true, and would
 stumble him in these things to whom he wrote. I have a Manuscript com-
 mended, a Treatise of the Church, going under the name of one of these Apo-
 gists, and a godly Minister from whose hands I had it, assured me it was in it
 which Treatise there is an answer to this question; 'But suppose Saints be
 'a Nation, wherein there is some kind of a Church constituted already, may
 'gather themselves into a Church? The Answer is as followes. 1. If you suppose
 'that there are Churches in England, yet such as never were truly members of
 'any of them, are free to begin, and gather themselves into a Church, and use of
 'the best Discipline they can, this liberty was under the Gospel given, which the
 'Jewes had not, till after they were Churches, yet we are not to continue
 'them, and not remove from them. 2. In that they are Churches defiled in
 'some Ordinances, as namely, Prophecying, mutuall admonition, excommunication,
 '3. They are Churches defiled in our judgments, in which communicating we
 'cannot but be defiled, now though they be Churches, in a dissonant manner, as
 'yet being defiled, we cannot communicate with them, and so irregard of our use,
 'now no Churches; and in the same page it is added, we may be kept from
 'joining with the true Church, and yet not withdrawing from those, as no Churches,
 'but as no Churches of use to us. Now I appeal to the Reader, what he can
 judge of your profession in the sixt page, and of these passages in your letters
 and manuscripts; and as some of your hands are contrary to this profession, so
 your works are contrary to it; in forsaking the Communion of our Churches
 and Ministerie, and in drawing others away, and in writing to many to come
 to you, and in setting up Churches: and pray deale ingeniously once in your
 Reply; seeing you ever held, and do now much more; that our Assemblies
 are true Churches, and our Ministers true Ministers; how you can satisfy your
 own consciences and us, from any Scripture ground, either of precept or ex-
 ample to separte from us? I am assured you cannot produce any ground,
 and that all Scripture instances, whether in examples or precepts will never
 come up to your practise and case: But (Brethren) why will you in a Nation

should be plaine (that all who runne may reade it) deale this fall-
 out with the Reader with your profession of our Churches and Mini-
 stry in generall, and never declare what you hold particularly of them?
 unless some, who have thoroughly studied your principles and
 being never the wiser for your profession: I must therefore of
 my English your words, and tell the meaning of all this: That is, neither
 of Churches of England; nor the Ministry thereof, as they are
 of same and constitution, according to the Lawes; and as they are in
 order, are two Churches or true Ministry: But now, so farre, as
 our Parochiall Congregations, there is something common with
 what hold about a Church and Ministry: so farre true, and not Antichri-
 stian for example, you hold, that in some Congregations we have many
 Ministers, and in some Parishes, Ministers chosen by the people, which Mi-
 nisters pray according to your way; but for what we else practise
 the calling of Ministers, in our former of prescribed prayers, so do
 not hold nor Ministry. And that this is your meaning will appeare
 by your Letters and speeches of some of your way, who write
 (as you) show so much. Master Batchelor a member of your
 Church, in printed letters, of his, dated from *London* September the
 16th, 1641, both to Ministers here in *London*, and to *Camden*, speaks
 to you, *and* *whereas it is believed, a few persons refuse*
can be any longer at the doors of the Churches in England such as
and Mr. Goodwins in Colchester, where you have true Churches.
and Master Goodwins, and Master Calverley, but because they were
of the Congregations, and there are many visible Saints in those Con-
gregations, to others of your way, having been reasoned with, how ac-
cordant your principles; That there is no Nationall visible Church
in the Testament, no visible Church, but a particular Congregation;
the Essence of Ministers, calling is Election by the people, and that
of a Church is a particular Covenant, with other things of this Na-
ture, and therefore considering the Church of England, Nationall and such
is not such a way of Ministry, how they could hold we had
no true Ministers. Their Answer hath been, You have Impli-
cit, and Implicite Ministers. But if you will say, you understand
in this Sense (not as Master Goodwin, nor as others of your
way, as Divers usually take Churches and Ministry, then I desire
you to bring together all your definitions and descriptions of true visible
Churches, and true Ministers, with our Church and Ministry of England. And
in conclusion in this point, I desire you in your reply to this Answer,
 candidly.

candidly, and clearly to expresse yourselves, when you fell to your Church-
way, and were to be taken for Ministers in those Churches; whether you held
your selves, or were taken upon by your Churches, as true Ministers by virtue
of your calling in *England*? Or whether (rather) you were not taken upon
only as gifted men, and did not some of you (at least) renounce and discontinue
your calling in *England*, and were made Ministers anew by the Church
consisting only of people, or lay-Elders at the best, without Ministers?

Mr. Cotton's Letter examined and answered. After *William* in his Answer to Mr. Cotton's Letter examined and answered. pag. 44. Mr. Cotton himself and other most eminent Ministers in *New-England* had freely confessed that notwithstanding their former profession of Ministry in old *England*, yet in *New-England* till they received a particular calling from a particular Church, that they were but private Christians. *Apologizing* to, and for, the Churches, namely your seeing, that if you accounted our Churches no true Churches; that by the same reason, the Churches abroad in *Scotland*, *Holland*, &c. yet for their mixture with the manner be judged no Churches. Now I answer, 'tis no concluding argument. Master *Robinson* (who was quick-sighted, and lived in *Holland* long) and being their mixture, yet acknowledges those Churches true; but denies ours to be true upon other grounds besides the mixture, and 'tis evident, your reason is insufficient, for if your description of a visible Church were only upon difference in the point of mixture, and your grounds of separation only upon that communion; then your Reason had some weight in it; but you know your exceptions were many against our Churches, which lay not against the Reformed Churches; but it is strange to me, if you were so good at consequences, that you saw and could not but see when there was no necessity of seeing; you could not see the necessary consequence of your principles about a Church and Ministry; nay, not see, even your contradictions: For see a man but take your own Positions, and Assertions concerning a true visible Church, and the true calling of Ministers, and lay together your quarrelling with us, and leaving us upon those grounds, because we have no such Churches and Ministers; and yet to asseme, that multitudes of our Parochiall Churches are true Churches. And certainly, however you (who are Schollars) might be such good Logicians to make such distinctions to save all (as you conceited) yet your people could not, but they from your principles and positions about Church, Ministry, Worship and Government, have judged us no true Churches; nor true Ministers; but have wondered at this sincere profession of yours before God and the

concerning our Churches and ministers, saying they understood you
 that they were much deceived (if you held not otherwise at first
 you expresse your selves after this manner.) And can hardly be-
 lieve you made alwayes and frequently such professions of our Churches
 ministers, and of keeping communion with them, as the Churches
 that ever so many had fallen off to your way. But thus 'tis in
 many of our men by fits will expresse things as other men do who
 are not so (but yet in a sence of their owne) to avoid exceptions, and
 may be thought to hold as others do, thereby the more to draw and
 draw men off to their way, when yet in the common sence and under-
 standing the points they hold otherwise. As the Socinians say they hold
 Christ, and call him so, but in a sence of their owne, and yet deny it in
 another sence: So Pelagians and Arminians will extoll the grace of
 God, that a man can do nothing without it, and yet in that sence where-
 in it is operative, they set up free-will above the grace of God: And so
 they will say, they do not deny the Law of God: and yet in the
 same sence, are flat against it. And so the Papists will say, they hold
 Christ to be saved by Christ, as well as any Protestant (though it's well
 knowne is a great difference between them in the point of Justification:)
 and many of your way, in a sence of your own, give us good words,
 call us true Churches and true Ministry; and yet in the sence of
 themselves, you teach flat contrary; as doth appear both by printed
 books, and by manuscripts and many practices.)

Profession in this Section, That in the times, when the Churches
 of Christ, were most either actually over-spread with defilements; or in the
 greatest danger thereof, that we both did, and would hold a communion with
 the Churches of Christ? I answer, what do I hear words, when I
 hear so contrary? How can I beleve this profession, that ye would hold
 communion with the Churches of England, as the Churches of Christ, under
 the greatest defilements, when as you have never held communion with any
 of them to the time of their greatest Reformation and purity? In this three
 hundred years since your coming over, wherein we have been so free from pollu-
 tion and schism, and since that in so many Churches in London, there hath been
 the most laying aside of prescribed formes of Prayer; and that great care,
 taking away both ignorant and prophane persons: Which of you five have
 received the Lords Supper in any of these true Churches and bodies of Christ?
 I can tell you of the adding to your
 Assemblies great numbers since; and of your receiving the Lords Sup-

per at night in private houses, and how some of you, who have not Churches here in London, go to separated Churches to partake in the Lords Supper. You (Brethren) why do you deale thus and write thus, to make men believe as if you held great communion with our Churches now, who would have held it with them in such bad times? I desire you to speak plain English, and not to speak after this manner (as you do too often in this Apologie) and to interpret to us in your Reply to this Answer, what you meant by *both Did not Would hold communion with the Churches of England as the Churches of Christ*. I know no communion you did hold, or do with us now (though so termed.) And if you do and will, what means that wall of partition between us and your new constituted Churches? As for the hearing of Sermons sometimes in our Churches, and preaching in our Congregations, I doubt whether you hold that a keeping communion with our Churches and Ministers; he rather, preach as gifted men; and hear ours as gifted men, and *however*

* Robins. Avol. cap. 12 p. 78. *Proprio, inquam, & peculiaris in quibus verbis audicionem simpliciter non annuere: utpote in quibus non inter docentem & discipulum communio spiritualis, sive Eccl. sive personalis, nisi ex quibus previa Eccl. significat aut personalis.*

(* if Master Robinson and some of your way may be believed) they hold hearing of the Word no Act of Communion, nor no proper nor peculiar thing of the Church: and that you are of the same judgement, I have great reason

both from your principles and practice to think so. As for that reall testimony (besides your profession) *That some of us after we actually were in unity of communion, baptized our children in Parishionall Congregations*: whereby you would inferre, you held a communion with our Congregations as the Churches of Christ: I answer, this is no reall testimony thereof, because it cannot be understood but in the sense before opened, of Churches and Ministry: and besides, if Master Symson were one of this some, who baptized his children in Parishionall Congregations, tis so inconsistent with what he writ in the Letter before quoted of the Church and Baptisme; that I know not how to reconcile these together: And the truth is, many of your practices are oft-times so in-coherent with some of your principles of Church-fellowship, (as for instance) Pastors are necessary Officers in your Churches, and yet according to your practices your Churches are many yeers without them, that a man cannot tell when he hath a reall testimony what you hold, or how long you have held it. And as for that other reall testimony, as you had occasion, offering to receive, some of ours whom ye knew godly that came to visit you when you were in exile, upon that relation, fellowship and membership they held in their Parish-Churches in England. 1. This reall testimony, because you offered it, but do not say you performed it. 2. If you had

performed it, it is no such reall testimony of the truth of our Church and Ministry, but of your own rather; into the communion whereof they are received. 3. Still, their admission was founded upon that distinction of Churches, as appears by your following words. For you would not admit upon such terms, as you would gaine a principle of your own by it, to the more by it, then communion with you was worth, namely, that they were known to bee godly.

But we come to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, unless they were of some particular Congregation, as is in their partaking with us must yeeld, that grand Brownistickall principle, the foundation of divisions among the Separatists, namely, that Sacraments belong not to all men, but as they are members of some particular Congregation. And yet then upon a practice and order, never required by example or by the Scriptures. And let me intreat you, in your Reply you have given, to give me a Scripture, to prove that all men who come to the Lords Supper must profess their membership, & then remaining to such particular Congregation: I profess my self of another judgement, and am bound to any of you five, or to you all, that it is lawfull for the Ministers to receive such whom they know to be godly, to the Lords Supper, though they be not members of a particular Church, and to receive such as are members without any professing themselves to be so: Suppose Merchants or Mariners, who all their dayes travell, and never stay in any one place, yet in all places where they come, desire to joyne themselves, ought not such to be received? The standing rule of communion at the Lords Supper will be found to be faith and godlinesse shown forth, without any formality of membership. But deale ingeniously, do you answer all that you required of the godly, that came to visit you, or do you only a part, which question, I hee rather propound, because, as you have most in other parts of this *Narration*, (as in the eighth page,) let *Batholomew* (one of you) writing from *Rotterdam* of your Order, that they will not keep back the Sacrament from any of the godly Churches in *England*, as *Master Goodwin* and *Master Catamizate*, (although provided that their own Pastors do consent unto it.) Now the godly Churches in *Holland*, and especially to *New-England* not finding any such standing rule of bringing a ticket from their Ministers, and so without any such Countries without it, may be long kept from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, till they either go into *England* and fetch it, or till they

send for it over, and have a returne back of the consent of their owne Pastors (which may be, was the reason, that though you offered to receive into the Communion of the Lords Supper some godly that came to visit you in your Exile, yet for want of bringing their Pastors consent unto it, returned into England without partaking in the Lords Supper with you.) Which (any way) will be a good warning for all that henceforth go over into Holland or New-England, to carry their Ministers consents over with them, least otherwise they be not admitted to the Lords Supper; and that you do not deal plain with us, in this relation of admitting the godly in the Parish Churches of England, into the Communion of the Lords Supper with you, but there is some reservation and evasion; I much doubt, because the known godly in the Parish Church of *Colman-street* (which amongst Parish-Churches, is one of your true Churches in England, cannot be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper by vertue of their relation of membership they hold in the Parish Church never since their Pastor fell into your Church-way. As for your public and avowed declarations to this purpose, which many hundreds can witness, I never heard of any of them in any publike meetings; though I have been in many, nor in any Sermons you have preached, though I have heard of many things you preached (which you are like to hear of in this Answer.) But if I may speak what I have heard, there hath been a Narrative read from you, of what you hold, which many Ministers also can witness, they were never performed by you till this day; As to that, in the close of this Sermon that some of your Brethren, in their printed Booke do candidly tell you, It is but one of them, not some, unless you take in Master Harkness, matur to your *Apologie*, who I doubt not before this time, by what I have heard from some of his Brethren of the Assembly, and seen in the book intituled *Reformation of Church-government in Scotland*, with the contents of the Letters from some Churches beyond the sea, besides the light this Answer will give, will see easily, how by your courting of him, he was surprised. And it is no wonder that Master Hark, Master Channell, with some other men of worth (having lived somewhat remote, and having not been much conversant with you and your distinctions,) might be at first mistaken with such good words, and solemn professions.

Apolog. And as we alwayes held this respect unto our own Churches in this Kingdom, so we received and were entertained with the like from those reformed Churches abroad, among whom we were cast to live, we both mutually gave and received the right hand of fellowship, which they on their parts abundantly manifested by the very same charactes and testimonies of difference, which are proper to their owne orthodox Churches, and whereby they use to distinguish them from all those Sects (which

colleagues, but not ours) and all the assemblies of them (which yet now we
 would needs vauke us with) granting to some of us their own Church
 places for worship, to assemble in, where themselves met, for the most
 part, at differing houres the same day. As likewise the privilege of ring-
 ing bells to call unto our meetings: Which we mention, because it is an
 old mode the great signall of difference betweene their own allowed Church
 and all other assemblies, unto whom it is strictly prohibited and forbidden, as
 our Church hath long since observed: And others of us found such acceptance
 that in almost many thereof they allowed a full and liberall maintenance
 unto their ministers; yea, and constantly also wine for our Communion. And
 some of us our parts, not only bid all brotherly correspondence with their
 Churches, but received also some of the members of their Churches (who desired to
 unite with us) unto communion in the Sacraments and other ordinances, by
 the relation of membership retained in those Churches. In this
 Section, I proved, both by Letters and many other presumpti-
 on, that they held not that respect to the Church of England you seeme to
 make in this Section; if now at last, you be growne more sober and wise,
 owning your principles, I am glad of it, non est pudet ad mellora trans-
 ire. In this Section, you being received and entertained with the like re-
 spect to the Reformed Churches abroad, and your mutually giving and
 receiving right hand of fellowship. If I may beleve reports and Let-
 ters (which are not light, but from ministers and good people;) I have been by
 your church, and have in writing from thence, grounds to question
 the Narration. A godly Minister out of Holland in answer to
 your Letter about the truth of your Apologie, writes thus to this pre-
 sent: I cannot but add this, that whereas the Apologeticall
 Letter affirmed those things to be an argument of the encouragement Letters out of
 those parts; and their good concurrence with the Churches Holland, and
 that he affirmed to me from very good testimony, that however the Ma-
 gistrate of Rotterdam for politick ends, do so gather company to them, which is
 not of the place; yet the Churches there (I mean the Dutch) yet in ap-
 pearance held there by those Brethren and their people. It hath been affirmed
 that many of the Dutch Ministers were much offended at a Minister
 being ordained Minister by the Lay-elders without any preaching
 before: And whatever right hand fellowship, and brotherly correspon-
 dence they hold with the Dutch Divines; some of the English Ministers
 of the Reformed Churches there, have complained of your great strangeness
 towards them; and, instance hath been given me particularly,
 (I am afraid of yours now in London) that when some of you have come

to *Amsterdam*, you never would go to *Master Herring*, (a good old man and formalist) but have gone to *Master Cante*'s (the Separatist) and to his Church. And besides, this report, told me some years ago, from a friend of your own, that I might not only beleve reports, I sent over into *Holland* some questions about the truth of some things related by you in this *Apologie*, whereunto, I had been informed of before: and among other questions on this Section, I propounded, what communion and converse passed between the godly English Ministers and their Congregations, and you! or whether, when you came to *Amsterdam*, you went not rather to the *Reformed* meeting, and conversed with *Master Cante* more then the *Reformed* Ministers? On which question, I had this answer in so many words sent: 'To this I am sure, that since my coming hither, we have had no such communion with them, as that we have prevailed with any of them to preach in our Congregation, though I am sure, some of them have been earnestly importuned therunto, indeed *Master Bridge* seemed once to be willing, but did not. And for their going to the *Reformed* Church, confessing with *Master Cante* more then us; that is undeniably, what we say of *them* also, in *Epistle to the Keyholder in defence of Master Bradshaw*, against *Master Cante*, is most true and certain.

But suffer me a little to examine the particulars wherein you would prove the mutual giving and receiving the right hand of fellowship: For the first, That you were received and entertained with the like respect that you give our Churches in *England*, I easily beleve (which was but little) of *Amsterdam* Reformed Churches lookt upon you, and you on them, as you did upon our Churches in this Kingdom: you have no cause to boast here of mutual giving and receiving the right hand of fellowship, remembering what I answered to your last Section concerning your profission of our Churches: As for the proof you bring, of their giving you the right hand of fellowship, is abundantly manifesting it by the very same characters and testimonies of difference, which are proper to their owne orthodox Churches, and whereby they use to distinguish them from all those Sects, &c. I answer, this was not of your Churches, for *Master Symphon* (which yet is your way, and is owned by you all in this *Apologie*) had not a Church, or publick place for worship granted to him, nor the privilege of ringing a Bell to call to meeting, but was looked upon as a Sect, (as *Master Bridge* told me.) And in a Letter out of *Holland* from a good hand to that question: Whether *Master Symphon*'s Church had the allowance of ringing a publick Bell to call to their meeting, and whether any maintenance allowed by the States? 'Tis answered: 'To this I shall say, I never yet heard by any, that his Church had any such allowance of Bell, or maintenance by the States. Now if *Master Symphon*'s Church was

...a fact; (collateral, but not owned) wanting that great signall
between allowed Churches and all other Assemblies, namely,
of ringing a publike Bell to call unto their meetings; and
your Churches being just of the same way and constitution
as appears by this *Apologia*) then, the ranking of you, now you are
in fact, is no great injury to you: Neither will the granting to your
Churches, publike places to worship, with maintenance for some
Ministers, &c. free you from being lookt upon as Sects by the Church
and Ministers there: but I must tell you, these priviledges came from
outside, as namely, one of your Churches consisting of many persons
of quality, and going at first to * a place a place where murderers and o-
ther grand offenders slyly, have prote-
sted place; the other Church Alon, and therefore no wonder if Inde-
pendent Churches there, and so pendents might have their liberty there:
allowance of a publike place. (The first sensible declining of
the new-way, being by Master *Peter*, (before he went to New-
England, Master *Bridge* coming to that Church, and bringing with him
several wealthy Citizens and Clothiers, by which the Magistrates as
knowing well their advantage; No wonder though they permit-
ted them their publike place, and gave to their Ministers a full and li-
berty of Wine for their Communion, and yet should gain
nothing. As for your holding all brotherly correspondency with
the Dutch (which I suppose you mean the *Dutch*) not knowing any
more I can say nothing against it; but only 'tis a great presum-
ption holding so little brotherly correspondencie with our own
Church there, you held not much with the *Dutch*: But grant that
it may be true, that you held
correspondencie with them that
upon other grounds, for your
enrichment and benefit many wayes,
and brings and they in their own
Country, is also to see if you could
bring any of their Ministers to your
Church. And as for your recei-
ving of their members unto com-
munion in the Sacraments, that might be but to strengthen your owne
Church, and advance that Church-principle of receiving them by vertue of
profession of membership. And here I desire to put two questions to
you. Whether in receiving some members of the *Dutch* Churches (who
desired

De Ecclesijs reformatis quid aliud dicam?
ear pro veris & genuinis, &c. Ecclesijs
habemus: cum isdem in sacris Dei com-
munionem profitentur, & quantum in nos-
tris est collimus: conciones publicas ab il-
lorum pastoribus habitas ex nostris, qui vo-
cant linguam Belgicam frequentant. Sa-
crum eorum eorum membris, si qua forte
nostra curia intersint nobis cognita parti-
cipamus.

desired to communicate with you) you put them upon professing themselves to be members of their Churches, and belonging thereto (as you did the English who came to you.) 2. Though you received some of them into communion in your Churches, whether any of you ever received the like communion in any of their Churches? or in any of the English Churches in Holland were not of your way and communion? But grant all you say in all your profession of your respect and holding communion with the Dutch Churches, when by you would free your selves from the imputation of separation, and make the Reader believe the Brownists and you had no affinity. I answer, You say more, not hardly to much as Master Robinson writ in his Apologie twenty five years since of those Reformed Churches, page 10, 11, thus, without any to

Apol. Now for the way and practise of our Churches we give this brief and general account. Our publique worship was made up of no other parts then the worship of our Reformed Churches doth consist of. At publique and solemn prayers for Kings and the authority, Acc to be reading the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; Expounding them a occasion many and instant preaching of the word to administration of the Sacraments, Baptisme to Infants, and the Lords Supper, singing of Psalms, and for the poore, &c. every Lords day. For Officers and publique Rulers in the Church, we set up no other but the very same which the Reformed Churches judge necessary and sufficient; and as Instituted by Christ and his Apostles for the perpetuall government of the Church, that is, Pastors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders, (with an unlay, but Excommunicated persons separated to that service) and Deacons. And for the matter of government and censure of the Church, we had not executed any other but what is acknowledged, namely, Excommunication upon obstinacy and impenitency, (which we had never exercised.) This later we judged should be put in execution for no other kind of sin, than may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light, whether it be a sin in manner, or conversation, such as is committed against the light of nature, or the common received practises of Christianity professed in all the Churches of Christ, or if in opinions, then such, as are likewise contrary to the received principles of Christianity, and the power of godlines, professed by the party himself, and universally acknowledged at the rest of the Churches, and no other sins to be the subject of that dreadful sentence.

In this Section you give us a Narration of the way and practises of your Churches. Wherein, in the beginning you tell the Reader, We give this brief and generall account; But how much better had it been, and more proper to have given a full and particular account here, then in your other part about New-England, and the Reformed Churches in Holland; A full and particular account of the way and practises of your Churches, had answered the nature of such a Narration, and would have satisfied all men: but why did you in the most materiall part give such a brief and generall account? Know

small brevities and generalities, there lies much mistake and deceit,
 and this brief and generall account, falls short of your way and
 and either you had had memories in your writing this *Apologie*,
 in part of your worship, Officers and censures, to forget some of them,
 or you have on purpose conceal'd them; holding out the bright side of
 (namely, what the Reformed Churches practise) but hiding the
 which is so much the more justly to be accepted against, because as you
 and words, and give the account, they are not true; but I can say, (and
 good too) your publike worship was made up of other parts then the
 of all other Reformed Churches, namely, of Propheſying in your
 sessions: and for Officers and publike Rulers in the Church, you set
 then the Reformed Churches, namely Widdowes: And for the mat-
 tement and censures of the Church, you have executed others, be-
 sition and Excommunication, namely, deposition of a Minister,
 of offences publicly, and orderings of solemne Fasting for Hu-
 upon confession of sins, as your selves relate the story in the sixteenth
 and twentieth: besides, you hold other censures of the Church;
 of Non-communication with Declaration, and Protestation to all
 Churches; as appears by your own relation, page 17, 18, 19. For pub-
 ship that you exercised propheſying, I could name unto you, who of
 have prophecied at *Arnhem*, and upon what subject, but I spare
 I could tell you, how Master *Bridge* and Master *Symphon* fell out upon
 of Prophecie, (as Master *Bridge* informed me) and of the exercising
 in Master *Symphon*'s Church at *Rotterdam*, as well as at *Arnhem*;
 of manuscripts produce how arguments are framed to draw way
 our Churches upon this ground, as being defective in some ordi-
 namely, Propheſying. And besides propheſying, I propound it to you,
 some of you have not held out some other publike worship, then the
 Churches hold, namely, Hymns and anointing the sick members of
 Church with oyle; As also, whether a little before your coming over into
 some members of the Church of *Arnhem*, did not propound the holy
 or the kisse of love, to be practised by Church-members; Nay, whether
 persons in that Church, was it not begun to be used and practised;
 in this enumeration of the parts of publike worship, I desire to know why
 &c. and what is meant by &c. for that implies more parts then
 enumerate. And we know &c. is a dangerous and suspicious phrase e-
 since the late Canons and Oath, for under that &c. may be meant Prophe-
 and Hymnes, and Anointing with oyle, and the Kisse of love, and many
 parts which the Reformed Churches practise not, and so your publike

worship may be made up of many other parts then the worship of all other Reformed Churches, and that there is great cause to speak thus, and doubt appears, because I know not, nor cannot reckon up any other part of publick worship used every Lords day in the Reformed Churches then the particulars mentioned by you without an &c. and therefore what you meant by under &c. unlessse Prophesying, Hymns and such like, I cannot imagine. The Officers and publike Rulers in the Church, whether you actually had made any Church-Widdowes in any of your Churches, (they being matter of charge, which also, as for admitting of poore members, some of you are very careful of,) I cannot affirme, but that you hold Widdowes to be Officers of the Church, and part of the Church-government, that I can prove by these following instances. 1. By a passage in a Letter from Mr Bridge,

Letter to Mr King,
Mr Telfe, &c.

to some at *Norwich*, by Master *Davenports* profession of faith printed, and by Master *Cottons* Catechisme. And how

much you have of late reasoned, for such a Church Officer in the Assembly, you know; And let the Reader observe that by the way, that we must judge of your wayes rather by what you hold, then alwayes by your practise, for one of your Churches hath been some yeares without a Pastor the first and chief Officer, and yet you set up such, much more may you be without Widdowes for some yeares, and yet hold them, and as you have Widdowes a Church Officer, which the Reformed Churches hold not, so in one of your Churches you have had Teaching Elders, besides a Pastor, and Teacher; And whence the Reformed Churches hold of their Officers as necessary and sufficient for the perpetuall government of the Church, Yet your practise is not, as you held them necessary and perpetuall; for one of your Churches, hath been many yeares without a Pastor, the prime Officer and Ruler in the Church, and other of your Churches without other Officers, which if they were so necessary, and as instituted by Christ and his Apostles, for the perpetuall Government of the Church; how you can be without these Officers, and namely, the most necessarie and principall, for many yeares together, I cannot see; And I desire you in your Reply, to satisfie us; and to shew Reason, how you can depart from that which is confest by all Churches, and your selves to, for the maintaining an opinion of the essentiall difference, between Pastors and Teachers in each Congregation, so much denied by many learned and godly Divines. As for that *Parenthesis* about Ruling Elders (with us not Lay but Ecclesiastick persons separated to that service) I desire to know, wherein and how, your Ruling Elders, are more Ecclesiastick persons, and separated to that service, then the Ruling Elders of the Reformed Churches: The Reformed Churches account their Ruling Elders Ecclesiasticall persons, and they are separated to

by Election and Ordination; and whereas you make a distinction between of your expressions, between Ruling Elders separated to that service of Deacons. I aske you, whether Deacons are not Ecclesiasticall, and separated to that service by Election and Ordination, as well as what, are your more, and in what further degree, are they Ecclesiasticall then the Ruling Elders of the Reformed Churches, or your own Deacons do you meane them so Ecclesiasticall and separated to that service of the Church as the Pastors and Teachers are to their office, that is, separated from all other employments and callings to the work of wholly attending the flock, as being as Ministers and preachers of the word; now if you understand thus, that all your Ruling Elders do give over their civill callings and employments, and are so separated, as Pastors and Teachers are, it behoves you of the Ruling Elder to teach publicly as well as governe, then I am bound to say against your Ruling Elders. And this puts an end to all your scruple about Lay-Elders, only let mee aske you two questions. 1. What specificall difference you will give me between those Officers, the Ministers of the word, and Ruling-Elders? Seeing both rule and preach, and discharge then of those texts, 1 Cor. 12. Rom. 12. which are held out to you Church Government by, and amongst other particulars are brought to you besides those who teach and preach the word, the Scripture reckonis them as Rulers. 2. Whether did your Gentlemen and Merchants, who were made Ruling-Elders among you, upon their office give over merchandizing, and their way of living as Gentlemen, wholly apply themselves to their studies, and to all gravitie in apparell, haire, &c? But if your Ruling-Elders, do follow, their merchandizing and trade, and thus as Pastors and Teachers, how can you affirm of them, to be more Ecclesiasticall persons then your Deacons, or then the Elders of other Reformed Churches? And as for the matter of Government, and censures of the Church, you did forget here, what you were to write in the sixteenth page, and the one and twentieth. How one of your Churches unhappily deposed one of their Ministers, which censure was neither admonition nor excommunication upon obstinacie and impenitence. But the particulars under this head, I have spoken to; upon this Section already. But as I have clearly and unambiguously shewed your publike worship was made up of other parts, then the worship of all other Reformed Churches, and have instanced wherein you erred and held over and above, so let me from this Narration of your worship and practise here, question, whether you practised all parts of worship, which other Churches practise. For I feare, your Narration, being subtilly carried (for though you say, your worship was made of

no other parts, nor you executed no other censures, but what all acknowledge) so it may be here; and you may conceale, what you have omitted, was your worship then, and is it still made up of all these? Do all of you hold, or did you practise in *Holland*, the reading the Scriptures of the old and new Testament, as an Ordinance without any Exposition, and do you practise the singing of Psalms, according to the way of Reformed Churches. I have been told that in *Rotterdam*, the Scriptures were never read barely without Exposition, and there are many of your Church-way and communion, that will neither joyne in having the Scriptures read, nor in singing of Psalmes in our Congregation. Which makes me doubt some of you may be of the same opinion and practise. And did all of you whilst you were in *Holland*, and do you now administer Baptisme to all the Infants of your Churches, or are there not some little unbaptized amongst you; and for the matter of censures, though you say you had, nor executed no other, but what all acknowledge, yet you do not seeme, you executed all censures which other Reformed Churches acknowledge, and so you conceale your judgement of things. Yet in this Narration of your way and practises, you carrie your discourse so in this Section, as if your practise and way were all the same with the Reformed Churches, but had you diligently, in the Narration of the way, and practises of your Churches, you should have laid down particularly as wherein, and how farre you agreed with the Reformed Churches, so also wherein you departed from them; namely, you should have shewed in what you practised more then they do, and wherein you practise short of them, and in the things you practised with them, yet how you differ'd in the manner of them; but to returne to that of censures the Reformed Churches practise, besides admonition, and before they come to excommunication, that which is called by Divines, *Abstentio à sacra cœna*, but you do not so, but conceale this; But brethren, why should you not practise this, especially considering how according to your principles; the Church is to receive the Lords Supper, every Lords day: For suppose some members commit a great sinne on the Saturday, which though it come to be known to the Ministers or Elders, and some of the people; either there may be no time to call the Church to admonish the parties, or if there be for admonition, yet not time sufficient for the parties to testifie Repentance, and yet, the persons may not be judged obstinate and impenitent as to be excommunicated, and supposing the persons offending will come now to the Lords table in the interim, what will you do in this case? And further, the Reformed Churches enjoyne the censure of open confession of sinnes, and practise Deposition of officers from their places, which may justly arise upon some cases, and yet thinke it not fit to proceed unto excommunication, (as your selves practised in *Master M...*

proceeding to give him up to Satan. Now how lame and defective is this Narration, about the government of the Church; only relating two things practised in common with the Reformed Churches, and as concealing things you practised not with them, so wholly passing over in silence your different way of practising from all Churches, in the way of Ordination, in the way of constituting Churches, and admission into them, and the way of governing by the votes and suffrages of the whole bodie, in the celebration the Lords Supper, receiving it at night, &c. in the Sacramental discipline, with many other particulars; which whether it be fairly to speake to the Reader, who is by this much deceived, thinking upon reading of this Narration, that you had agreed in all things; of Worship, of Censures with the Reformed Churches; But to returne to that censured Excommunication, which you insist upon, laying down your judgement the subject of that censure. As for your blessing God, you never say there may be but little ground for such a blessing, but cause rather to be blamed for not using it seasonably: I judge had you practised it, some of the ill speakings between many members of your Churches, with some offences might have been prevented: But there is no such great cause against yourselves, by the non-exercise of Excommunication, if what you say is the matter of it be considered, wherein I suppose you differ from all the Reformed Churches, and do open a wide gappe to much licentiousness in doctrine and practise: What do you judge? Is it not to be used Excommunication for no other kinde of sinnes, then may evidently be presumed against the parties known light, &c. What if men practise blasphemy, prophane the Lords day, by using it as they do any other day, what if they do hold; and accordingly will have practised communic of goods with unbelievers, what if they maintaine that Christians ought not to be Mastrs of all which are not condemned in all the Churches of Christ (especially those Churches may be taken for Churches of Christ, and we have reason to thinke by your manner of expressions you include such) neither are persecuted against the parties known light, but rather are practised upon new light, and new truths; and let me intreat you in your Reply to explaine your meaning, what you mean by all the Churches of Christ, and by the common practises of Christianitie; and what by the principles of Christianitie generally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches, whether by Churches we understand the Churches only of your own communion and waite, or the Churches which are commonly called the Reformed? Or else all Churches which are so called, as, besides your own and the Reformed, the Churches of the Anabaptists, Antinomians, and such like? And I have

reason.

reason to propound this question, your words being so doubtful: Now if your words and phrases be taken in the first sence, of your Churches only, that those finnes and no other are to be the subject of Excommunication, then great finnes and errors according to the Scripture, and judged so by Orthodox Churches, many escape Excommunication; and on the contrary, many matters, which according to Scripture, are neither finnes nor errors, but only your Churches hold them so, may have that dreadfull sentence passe upon them: but if you meane it in the largest sence for all kind of Churches, and for the received principles and practises of Christianity, professed and acknowledged in all the Churches, then more finnes and errors so judged by the word, by most Churches, and by your owne Churches too, will be acknowledged for such in all the rest of the Churches, and so shall escape the censure: But if you should say, you meane only the Reformed Churches commonly so called, and the common received practises professed by them, it cannot be so understood (as is evident) by your owne expressions in this passage about Excommunication.

So that there are strange unsafe rules to go by in the censure of Excommunication, and I judge it is a part of the new light, and new truths of these times, never yet given by any learned Classicall Author. How much better were it for Churches to make the subject of Excommunication, such finnes and errors which the Scripture hath made so, and those finnes to be agreed upon, by common consent in Assemblies and Synods so drawn up, as all to know them. But if it be objected that this may hinder further light, and an after discovery. I answer, when any thing more shall come to be known, this need be no hinderance unto any light; but by the publike Government, and common consent, upon good grounds may be added: But this judgement about the censure of Excommunication I fear is calculated for the Meridian of pretended liberty of conscience. Now this position of making the subject of Excommunication, to be only such finnes and errors as are against the parties known light, and the common received practises of Christianity professed in all Churches, and no other to be the subject of it, tends to the tolerating of Sects and Heresies, which in this impure age is by many men, and by too many of the Church-way so studiously promoted against the nature of Reformation and true zeale. But if one of the great ends of Excommunication be to preserve others from infection, and to keep the Church of God pure, (as Divines teach) then though the party offending shall pretend such finnes or errors are not against his known light, neither contrary to the received principles of Christianity universally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches, yet Excommunication ought to be exercised by those who have power in the Church.

And for our direction in these or whatsoever else requisite to the manner of our worship, we had these three principles more especially in our eye, to guide and direct us by.

The supreme rule without us, was the Primitive patterne, and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles. Our consciences were possessed with that sacred and adoration of the fulness of the Scriptures, that there is therein a commandment, as to make the man of God perfect, so also to make the Churches of Christ (in most circumstances we except, or what rules the law of nature doth not dictate) if the directions and examples therein delivered were fully known and followed. And although we cannot profess that sufficiency of knowledge as to know fully all those rules therein, which may meet with all cases and circumstances that may or sometimes did fall out amongst us, or that may give satisfaction to all. Quieres possible to be put unto us; yet we found principles or rules so fundamentall and essentiall to the being of a Church, but superfluous for the well-being of it, and those to us clear and certain, and such as might serve to preserve our Churches in peace, and from offence, and would direct us to Heaven in a safe way. And the observation of so many of these things belaid forth in the word, became to us a more certain evidence and confirmation that there were the like rules and ruled cases for all occasions, if we were able to discern them. And for all such cases where we found not a clear resolution from Scripture, example or direction, we still proceeded in doubt, untill God should give us further light, not daring to seek out our own will in our light in matters divine with humane prudence (the forfall of which is damnation) lest by saving any piece of the old garment unto the new, we should make it worse, we having this promise of grace for our encouragement in our publick Assemblies was often for our comfort mentioned, that in following the will of God we should know more.

In the Narration of your way and practices of your Churches, you come to the three great principles above all others by which you guided your worship in your practice; which I come now to examine, and doubt not but you have exprest them to discover to the Readers their weaknesse and insufficiency, and easily to take off all the seeming strength of the reasons you set forth for your selves, and against us.

The first Principle, the supreme rule without you, the primitive patterne of the Churches erected by the Apostles (which also is exprest by you in the words of that sacred pillar of fire to guide you by in all the positive parts of Church-worship and Government. I answer, why is the old Testament forbidden in both these places, not so much as mentioned? What, is there no patterne, nor example to you in Church-worship and Govern.

Government, nor is there nothing recorded there any part of the sacred pillar of fire to guide you by? Consider whether in this you follow not too much the example of some Hereticks and erroneous spirits, who will have nothing to do with the old Testament, in the points they hold: This is the way of the Anabaptists, and of the *Anomianists*, both of old, and at this day, and I am sorry such men as you, in such a formall Apologie and Narration of your way (as you hold out this to be) should so farre forget your selves, as to countenance such persons so farre. And I must tell you, that your search was insufficient, and your rule too short; if you looked only on the first Apostolicall directions, patterne and examples of those Primitive Churches erected by the Apostles: For in the old Testament there are many rules, directions and examples, as a pillar of fire to guide the Churches now by: (as that *Rom. 15. 4* shewes) namely those examples and rules of morall and common equity, the Church of God should lose now many a good ground, for many practices, and you and your partie have been ill advised to fetch grounds out of the old Testament for many things you hold and practise. There are some things you practise that you have no proof for at all out of the new Testament, either in example or precept: As for instance, in the point of Ordination by the people without Officers, you alledge *Numb. 8. 20.* but can bring none out of the new Testament; so for the Church-Covenant, you multiply places out of the old, as *Jer. 50. 5, &c.* But none out of the new, and so for that power which you allow Christian Magistrates in the Church, you fetch from the old Testament. So in the point of Idolary against the naming themselves used by Idolaters, you bring all out of the old Testament (as Master Burroughs in his Exposition on *Hosea 2.*) And without the taking in the old Testament (which you so wholly forget in this your first principle) you would lose much strength in severall points you hold and practise, against some who differ from you. As in the Baptisme of Infants from the Covenant made with Abraham and his seed, and the Circumcision of Infants, as in keeping the Christian Sabbath from the fourth Commandement, as in speaking against humane inventions in the worship of God from the second Commandement, with other particulars of the same kind. Now if you will use the old Testament in some examples and commands, as you do, (though here you forget to mention it,) Then grounds out of the old Testament, (in matters not ceremoniall and judiciall proper to the Jewes policie, Nation and times,) but in things of generall and common equity will justifie other practices. And how then you can escape in the way of Church-government, the lawfulnessse of appealing from lower Judicatories to higher, and the lawfulnessse of Formes of public prayer composed and prescribed, with other particulars, I see not: But be

forefaw these, and such like, (as that of a Nationall Church) you
 follow the old Testament, and speak only of the New; and but of a part
 of that too, namely that of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistles*, as
 records in both pages, third and ninth, intimate, *The Churches erected by*
Apostles, and the first Apostolike directions, patterns and examples of the Pri-
mitive Churches recorded in the new Testament, which reaches no farther then
 of the *Apostles* and the *Epistles*: But though you do not deale fairly
 with the Scriptures, and making your supreme rule so narrow, as the
Acts and *Epistles*; and I might justly stand upon it, to make you enlarge your
 rule to the Books both of old and new Testament: yet well knowing the *Acts*
 and *Epistles* will cast you; I am well contented, and most ready at
 this upon alone to try it with you, and care not in the present controversie
 of the Church-way, as to let all other Authors, so for the old Testament, and
 the New too, the Gospels, to stand by; and if you can make good
 the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles* by any Apostolike direction,
 or example of those Primitive Churches, directed by the Apostles,
 in things you practise and maintaine, as Ordination of Ministers by the
 presbytery, as your Church-covenant, as a few private Christians to ga-
 ther and constitute a Church, as persons to be members of such Congregati-
 ons, when they live constantly many miles distant from their Ministers and the
 meeting places, with other such, I will yeeld the cause, and if I make not
 good the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, things mainly opposed by
 you, as affirmed by us; As that of particular Churches to consist of more
 than meet in one place to be edified in all parts of worship, with other
 such, then blame me: So that I may say of your Church-way, and the que-
 stion between us, (as *Tertullian* answered long since some *Trinitarian* of the
Church,) That if they were to be determined by the *Testament de Respo-*
ndentia, they would not subsist; now as to the ground
 of the principle within you, your consciences were possib^{ly} with that re-
 verence and adoration of the fulness of the Scriptures, that there is therein a
 complete sufficiency, as to make the man of God perfect; so also to make the
 Church of God perfect, &c. First, I answer, Your ground here alledged,
 cannot prove your supreme rule without you, (namely the Primitive pa-
 ttern and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles) to be compleat-
 ly sufficient to make the Churches of God perfect, because that speaks as of
 the whole Scriptures, that there is in them a compleat sufficiency, and not as
 of a part; now though the Scriptures may be and are so full and perfect,
 yet any part may not; you can in reason conceive that the whole may
 be completely sufficient to all ends and uses for which it was intended,

when a part or parts may not suffice. And that Scripture which you alledge unto for proof, 2 Tim. 3. v. 16, 17. speaks of the whole Scripture, and not of a part only, the Papists would have it *non totam, sed omnem Scripturam*, and so would give that praise, not to the whole body of the Scriptures, but to particular parts of it: Learned *Chamier* *Pastrat.* *mier* shewes the contrary, how that the whole Scripture is *Cathol. lib. 8. de Ca-* here rather to be understood, and he proves it by a three-
nona, cap. 3. fold argument, and in this great question between us and the Papists, *An Scriptura Christianis perfectum reddat*, resolves the question to be understood of the whole Canon in the Old and New Testament: And so doth *Doctor Whitaker*, by which you may judge how
Whitak. de Script. *perfect. qua 6. cap. 14.* insufficient and short your first principle was, being only a part of the Scriptures, but not the whole, and you may observe the fallaciousness of your reason propounded to argue from the whole to a part, because the whole Scriptures have a compleat sufficiency to make the Churches of God perfect, therefore the Primitive pattern and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles have too. Secondly, I do adore the fulness of the Scriptures, and God forbid that I should take from the Scriptures any thing God gives unto them, or that which in the Scriptures is attributed unto it; but we must not give unto the Scriptures more than what God intended them for, or what the Scripture affirms of it self, for that is to be will above what is written, and to adde unto the word, and may be, and hath been a ground of dangerous consequence in the Church of God, and to clear it from your own instances of exception: (*Miser circumstantes ne except, &c.*) Now suppose some to speak as you do, and to be really acted also upon the same ground of the fulness & sufficiency of the Scriptures should yet affirm of the Scriptures without all exception of *meis circumstantes*, and of the rules which the law of nature doth in common dictate, and should say nothing must be practised, no not in meere circumstances, but by some direction from the word; and as for the rules, the law of nature doth in common dictate, in them also the Scripture gives light how to do them, and thereupon should speak as you do all along in this Section; would not this prove inconvenient and trouble you in your Churches; Nay, suppose some should so extoll the fulness and sufficiency of the Scriptures that they should hold them so perfect and sufficient for all Christians as to be a perfect rule for all civill government, and that Christian common-wealths ought to be governed by Lawes only there recorded, and by
In foro non ex jure humano sed ex lege Moisi. no other (which opinion in substance
pronunciandum esse contradi, *dictum Adam.* *Carlostadius* held; That in Court of
via Caroli. justice judges should not proceed according

humane Lawes, but according to the Law of *Moses*; and so for
 the same reason should hold all the way of *Waire* must be founded upon
 the Scriptures, and thereupon should clamour against any other Art and way
 of *Waire*, then what was practised there. What would you reply to these
 objections if strength were there in such principles, would not you answer
 that since the Scriptures were perfect, and how they must under-
 stand. Men have often by giving more to the most excellent creatures
 than the Scriptures allow, fallen into great errors and mistakes.
Calvin and *Uthiquar* speak highly of the body of Christ, and 'tis all
 the way of magnifying it, and *Schwenckfeldius* did boast *Schlusfeldburg, de*
Christi be the Assessor of the glory of the flesh of Christ *Christi Schar-*
ke (which other Preachers neglected, or else oppo- field.)
 And yet all these held great errors about the body and humane nature of
 Christ, and the notion of advancing it. So in the present controversie, by
 giving the Scriptures that which God hath not given to them, both is, and
 is the ground of error. And therefore I deferre you for the true sense
 of the Scriptures concerning the fulnesse and sufficiencie of the Scriptures to
 the Churches of God perfect, unto the answers our Protestant Divines
 have made in that controversie about the perfection of the Scriptures.
 In the way, let me commend to you, and all the Ministers of the Church-
 es, to body our Protestant writers, as *Whitaker*, *Chamier*, &c. against the
 Popes the Church, and of the notes of the visible Church, upon the
 Scriptures, the authority of Councils and Sy-
 nodes, and you shall finde satisfaction to most of the materiall grounds
 which have misled you in your Church-way.) In which answers you shall
 see, that the perfection and sufficiencie of the Scripture is principally
 in matters of doctrine, and in points necessary to salvation: And
 in points of externall order wherein the Scriptures do reach to them, it is
 the knowledge of the Essentials, Substantiall, and Fundamentals of Go-
 vernment and Discipline, and of the accidentals, accessaries, and circumstan-
 ces. I could abundantly out of *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, *Jurinus*, *Doddris*
 &c. But I intend a whole Treatise upon that question of the Scriptures,
 how far they are a rule for all matters of externall government and or-
 der in the visible Church, with answer to this objection particularly, and
 will enlarge further, saving only that I will adde the resolution of this
 question out of *Whitaker*, *Chamier*, and *Cameron*, who are full and
 clear in not against the perfection and policie are not laid down in the
 Scriptures. *Chamier* shewes the judgement of the Churches of France,
 Holland,

Holland, nay he shewes, in the perpetuall opinion of all the Protestants, and he addes, *Truly to speak* (as the matter is) *The Church cannot be altogether without unwritten Traditions; and he instances in certain Rites according to places, times, and persons, changeable and various: Judge in controvers.* So Cameron, *For since the Scripture hath been ordained of God to make one wise unto salvation, and perfect unto every good work, it must without doubt contain all doctrine necessary to salvation, otherwise it could not attain its end: Let us then adore (as Tertullian speaks) the fulnesse of the Scriptures, and let us not bear (as Athanasius speaketh) neither receive any thing besides or above them in that which concerns the Doctrine of Faith.* For touching the policie and ceremonious in the Church; it is another matter, we avouch that the Fathers did not think themselves bound to give an account of them by the Scripture. So Dr. Whitakers speaks also the same in that question and controvercie of the perfection of the Scripture against human Traditions.

Chamier. *Pantheol. Cathol. de Canon. l. 8. c. 1. de perfecti-* inter res quæ traduntur in Ecclesia & rationibus scripturæ. *Status contro-* rum tradendarum: & res ipsas esse duos generis, scilicet alias in quibus substantia est, & quas corpus religionis Christianæ; non tantum ad fidem, sed etiam ad uerum formandos, politionemque Ecclesiæ continendam: proinde necessarias ex institutionis divinæ: aliæ ejus essentie velut appendices, ejusque corporis ornamenta; neque ex se, neque ex institutione divinæ necessarias, sed potius ad usum, & policie tantum causa in usum receptas: ut sunt discipline partes variis nominibus sancitæ.

Chamier. *de Canon. l. 8. c. 1. de perfecti-* Imo verò ut fateamur quod res est, omnino non potest Ecclesia carere Traditionibus non scriptis; sive intelligat quotidianam tradenda fidelibus ejus veritatis, quæ non aliunde habetur quam ex libris sacris rationem: sive ritus quosdam pro locis, temporibus, & personis varios: aptos tamen exercenda pietati, charitati conservanda: qui etsi non extant in canone totidem literis, tamen a nemine contemni debent, eo ipso quod ab Ecclesiâ, id est pastoribus instituti sunt, dum tamen nihil officiant aut sinceritati doctrinæ aut libertati conscientie: cum propriè leges prescribit, non nisi Deus.

Whitak. *de Script. Per-* Non dicimus, omnes liberas ceremonias esse nominatim scriptas contra Hum. Tra- in Scripturis traditæ, ut quomodo se gerere debent aut homines in sacris ritibus & hujusmodi, quas esse varias & commutabiles pro temporum & personarum ratione minime ignoramus: de ceremoniis (inquam) liberis quæ ad externam tantum politionem & decorum pertinent.

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contendimus, sed de necessaria doctrina. *Hac perperna; ille vero*
sed ad tempora accommodata.

Itaque fuerunt Apostolos in singulis Ecclesiis ritus
 aquae consuetudines ordinis & decoris cau-
 dens, non autem scripsisse; quia hirsutus non fu-
 it perpetui futuri, sed liberi, qui pro commodo &
 ratione mutari possunt. Prescriptos autem
 ritus huiusmodi ritus aliquos ad honestam Eccle-
 siam accomodatos, patet ex 1 COR. 11. & 14. cap.

Whitake. de Scriptis. perfrat.
 Quest. 6. & 6. Status. questi-
 onis proponitur. 6. Article of
 the sufficiency of the Scrip-
 tures for salvation. Vide 39.
 Articles of Religion. of the
 Church of England.

Itaque generalis regula habetur in Scripturis, omnes istos ritus ad edificationem
 adiuvandos dirigendos; sed ipsi particulares ritus non proponuntur. Ad di-
 versas, quae necessaria sunt, sive ad fidem sive ad vitam spectent, aperte &
 distincte scripturis explicari.

For the exception made by you of this rule of meer circumstan-
 ces, the rules of the law of nature, where what you affirme, seems to a-
 mount to this, that you practised all the examples of the Primitive Churches
 exactly by the Apostles, (excepting those.) Suffer me to aske you these few
 questions upon your exceptions made of this first rule.

1st. What you meane by meer circumstances, and what by the rules the
 law of nature doth in common dictate? because the Reader may be much de-
 ceived by these generall and doubtfull expressions; you should have done
 what you have particularized what you judge circumstances, and what meer cir-
 cumstances, and what be the rules the law of nature doth in common dictate,
 what you laid down before the Reader, how you in your Church-way keep
 them; and I aske the rather, because I finde a Sermon of Mr Bridge,
 one of the Authors of this *Apologie* (preacht before the Sermon at publike Fast,
 at the House of Commons, not long before this *Apologie* came. November, 29. 1643,
 where he makes none of these exceptions, but excepts pag. 26.

2nd. How you shewing that in the visible Church Gods word is our line,
 which reacheth unto all particular affaires of the Churches, and in particular
 to answer, that of circumstances, and perverts two sayings of Lu-
 ther and Bishop Jewel.

3rd. Whether you do practise and observe your own rule here given
 with the exceptions made by you? or whether you do not much depart from
 your Church-way, not yeelding to meer circumstances nor the rules the
 law of nature doth in common dictate? as for instance, receiving the Lords
 Supper at night, contrary to the practise of the Reformed Churches, standing
 in that circumstance of time; denying appeales from the particular Con-
 gregations, whereas appeales are a rule the law of nature doth in common.

Thirdly;

Thirdly, I demand of you, how you could so nakedly propound the Apostolicall directions, patternes and examples of the Primitive Churches to walk by; (excepting meer circumstances and the rules of the law of nature, and not except withall extraordinarie and miraculous, personall and particular, occasionall and accidentall, temporary and locall patternes and examples) I own the Scripture for the rule, rightly understanding it, and in matters of Discipline and Church-order professe to walk by it, desiring to be tied to Scripture patternes, particularly to the patterns of examples and precepts recorded in the new Testament, (provided this be understood in essence and fundamentals of order, in matters of perpetuall use, and of a common use to all times and places;) only I adde that in some things, where in matters of order and externall government there may be no such cleare direction either by precept or example, there generall rules of the word, with deductions out of Scripture examples, and from precepts by way of Analogy, with rules of common prudence be taken in too. Now the interpretation of the rule (as I have laid it down) being rejected, and the rule simply taken without such limitations, will produce a wilde and strange discipline and Church-order, to practise all things recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, without distinction and difference of those times, persons, places, and persons; and on the other hand to practise nothing but what hath a cleare example, or precept is strange too, and in so doing, reasonable men cannot become a Church-society, nor exercise Church-communication. And however in matters of externall government and administration of holy things in the visible Church some pretend to this, to practise whatever they finde recorded in the Scriptures, and to practise nothing whatsoever they finde not there, yet some of the Independents, no not the highest forme of them, the Anabaptists, are the highest sort of Anabaptists (who were called *Apostolici* from their pretending to imitate the Apostles in all things) ever yet have or do practise patterns and examples recorded in the new Testament, or are content with them alone, but practise somewhat over and above not particularly recorded in Scripture. I could lay down a catalogue of many particulars practised in the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, not practised in your Churches, nor in any Churches of the Independent way, as also of many things practised by you (which we never read of in the Scriptures;) so that all the Independents are in many things according to the first pattern both defective and excessive. But I referre the full handling of this to a Tractate I intend concerning the Scriptures, How farre the Scriptures are a rule for all matters of Church-government and order in the visible Church: I adde only one thing for the Readers sake, that they be carefull to understand this first principle

as a rock, as you lay it down in page 8, 9, 10, 11. because it hath
 been a rock to split many on, and an *Ignis fatuus* to leade many
 into a snare, instead of a sacred pillar of fire to guide to Heaven in a safe way.
 The imitation of the Apostles in all things in matters of externall or-
 der, hath been and is the great foundation of evils on all hands, both in many
 points of Popery, and amongst the Anabaptists, (as I could de-
 monstrate in particulars (Learned

as in his Commentaries upon
 1 Tim. 5. speaks of it. *Schlus-*
ius writes also, that there is a
 sect of Anabaptists call'd *Apostoloci*,
 because they professed to
 imitate the Apostles in all things, they
 shod their anothers feet, they held
 hands to be common, they
 went up and down without staffe,
 without cloake, money, because of
 their meane, they went up to the
 tops of houses to preach, because
 of their meane, *inquit* you have heard
 them preach upon the house top.
 To have the want of these li-
 berties and distinctions in this your
 Church hath led some of you into
 strange practises, and may
 lead you further, as into anointing
 with oyle, baptising in rivers,
 &c. I leave you to consider of.

Now this first and great principle upon which you went and reared up
 your Church-way, how difficult and abstruse a rule, and how doubtfull a
 work do you make it, before you passe from it, by making that suppo-
 sition. If the directions and examples therein delivered were fully known
 and understood. And that you cannot professe that sufficiency of knowledge as to be
 able to follow all those rules, &c. Now then brethren consider with your
 own hearts, how for all this principle of the Primi-
 tive Church to guide you by, yet it being so hard to know and finde out the
 rule, and you not having that sufficiency of knowledge to lay forth the rules,
 how might you be out of the way then for all this principle, and how
 might you think otherwise of you, being a few men and going by your
 selves.

a *Danai Comment.* in 1 Tim. 5. v. 13. & v. 17.
Cum *quidam* *quidam* *homines* *omnia* *que* *A-*
postolorum *temporibus* *observata* *fuerant* *sibi* *pu-*
tarent *imitari*, *neque* *lucrum*, *neque* *tempo-*
rum, *neque* *verum* *disciplinam* *rationem* *habuerunt*,
etiam *et* *ipsi* *sui* *Dioconissas* *retinere* *præste* *vo-*
luerunt. *Sed* *cum* *posterioribus* *temporibus*, *&c.*
Et *certe* *nimis* *impedientes* *sunt* *Catabaptistæ* *qui*
Pauli *facti* *et* *exempli* *prætexunt* *omnes* *verbi* *Dei*
ministros *ad* *manualia* *opera* *cogendos* *esse* *comen-*
tantur, *ut* *victimam* *camparent*. *b* *Apostolici* *inter*
Anabaptistas *cognominati* *sunt*, *quia* *Apostolos* *em-*
ulari *in* *omnibus* *deceverunt*. *Hi* *nudam* *Scrit-*
pturæ *litteram* *tenere* *se* *jactabant*. *Absque* *baculo*,
calceis, *peris*, *pecunia* *hic* *inde* *vagabantur*,
juxta *Christi* *verba*. *Ascendebant* *in* *teſta* *domo-*
rum, *ex* *quibus* *habebant* *conciones*, *quia* *Chri-*
ſtus *dixisset*, *que* *in* *autem* *accepisset*, *annunciare*
in *teſtibus*. *Pedes* *sibi* *in* *vicem* *lavabant*, *cum* *pu-*
eris *reputascebant*, *hoc* *est* *pueriliter* *se* *gere*,
quia *Christus* *dixisset*: *nisi* *quis* *reliquerit* *dom-*
um, *uxorem*, *&c.* *propter* *me*, *non* *potest* *esse*
meus *discipulus*, *Schlesied.* *de* *Secta* *Anabaptistæ*

selves: So that supposing the Apostolicall directions and Primitive examples of the Churches (not excluding the Old Testament and Gospels) to be the only rule of the outward administration and government of the visible Church, and granting these were more especially in your eye to guide and steer your practise by, (considering by your own confession there is so much difficulty to make these out, and to lay down what is a binding and standing direction, and what not, what is meerly circumstantiall and what not, and how to apply many things which fall out to such rules and such examples recorded.) Yet we may see, how unsafe and dangerous it was for you, and for a few persons to set up Churches and Church-government, and we may hence learn, what great use and need there is of Synods and Assemblies to draw out Church-government and discipline, and still in all difficult cases to meet for the debating and determining of things. And by the way let me admonish many of your followers of their boldnesse and rashnesse of determining in matters of Church-government, and order, holding all things about discipline and Church-government to be so manifestly and clearly laid down in the Scriptures, as the light of the Sunne, and thereupon censuring many for not holding with them, imputing it to their want of self-deniall and inward knowledge: By this they may see their great Leaders judge otherwile, who speaking upon the Scriptures being a compleat rule to make the Churches perfect, put in a caution, and declare, *They cannot professe that sufficiency of knowledge, as to be able to lay forth all those rules therein, which may meet with all cases and emergencies that may or sometimes did fall out amongst them.* Now if the Apologists, men so able cannot professe that sufficiency of knowledge, &c. who yet according to their own Narration tell us, how they saw the dark part before many others, and how they had all that light of the Non-conformists, Reformed Churches, *New-England*, &c. What shall we think of a few private illiterate Christians setting up of Churches, and framing a government, will this assure them (though the Scriptures be a perfect rule for Church-government, and this is the supream rule they go by) that therefore they are in the right, certainly the great difficulty in knowing and finding out the directions and examples, and in applying them aright, and their weak knowledge will give ground sufficient to all reasonable men to suspect the contrary. And for your selves Brethren, the Reader hath greater reason to judge from what you here grant about the difficultie of the Scriptures in the Church-way, and your insufficiencie and ignorance in many cases and to many queries, that you might be out of the way, then from the sufficiency of the Scriptures to make Churches perfect, and your making the Scriptures your supream rule, that you only should be in the right; and withall calling

the Reformed Churches you depart from, (and all along reflect upon this Apologetical Narration,) holding the Scriptures (in a true sense) as the perfection for Church-Government, and setting them up as the firm rule to eye continually, and having the great advantage of your knowledge of directions and examples in Scripture better then you, by reason of long learning, numbers, long studying these points; all you speak here is this principle as a ground to take men with, and possesse the Readers of your way rather then theirs; hath no strength in it, but the scale of want of knowledge and ability of finding out the rules and applying, is on the Reformed Churches side, and the other scale of making Scriptures the rule, equall to yours also; you must needs be found light and weak with them. But after your supposition of the great difficulty of finding this rule, and profession of the non-sufficiency of your knowledge which you weaken so much what you would gaine by the Narration setting up this first principle, as the supreme rule without you, yet, before you proceed, in the following words you seem to affirme it; Indeed, indeed, I am hovering about, not knowing well where to light and to settle because of the perfection and sufficiencie of the Scriptures to all Church matters, the difficulty of finding out the rules and directions (As the precepts and subsequent put together do shew) *For you found principles enough fundamentall and essentiall, but superstructorie also, and those to be certain, and such as might well serve, &c.* Now let the Reader see if these words do not declare a sufficiencie of your knowledge without this, or Ands: But you must pardon me, if I do not beleeve, you found principles enough superstructorie and that upon these two following

1. Had you found principles enough superstructorie for the well-being of your Churches, and those cleare and certaine, and such as might well serve to preserve your Churches in peace and from offence, and would comfortably guide you to heaven in a safe way. How came it to passe that you made a use of them, for the well-being of your Churches to have preferre them in peace and from offence, but that in so short a time so many offences and differences should fall out, and you go so uncomfortably to heaven, considering whether you were in the right way for Church-government & order.

2. Thirdly, If you had found out principles enough superstructorie, why did you not name them, at least some of them? you might have done well to have given the Reader a taste of them, it would have given good content, especially in such a Narration: I am of opinion both upon your totall silence and your search into these points, that besides the fundamentall and essentiall

principles to the being of a visible Ministeriall Church you found not many superſtructures laid down particularly in the primitive Churches either in practice or precept (namely ordinary, perpetuall, &c.) And I do desire you (ſetting aſide Fundamentall eſſentiall and ſubſtantiall principles) that for the ſuperſtructures upon them, and your deductions, you would give me proofs from the Scripture for many of your practices (ſetting aſide generall rules of the word and common rules of reaſon and prudence.) And whereas you make the obſervation of ſo many of thoſe particulars laid forth in the word, to become a more certain evidence and clear confirmation that there were the ſame rules and ruled caſes for all occaſions whatſoever, if you were able to ſhew them. Had you expreſſed any of thoſe particulars, the Reader might have gained ſomewhat, and I could have better told from your inſtances, what to have answered you; and might have ſhewn you the diſſimilitude, how they might not have inſerr'd the reſt; but here, as in other paſſages of your Book, you finde it ſafeſt to be in the clouds, and to lie hid in generals. Be ſure it for once you obſerved many particulars. It followes not therefore from many to all. But this is a point and principle wherein weak arguments will become certain evidence and clear confirmation to you. Be ſure you ſhew only ſome things to you how (becauſe this diſcourſe is but the Answer of a Narration, not of all arguments that may be brought) you are miſtaken both in your Obſervation and your clear confirmation of what followes, for you ſhall finde that in the ſuperſtructures of the government of the Church, there are but few particulars laid down in the patterne and example of the Primitive Churches, and thoſe Primitive practices are not ſuch a rule given by God in matters of that nature, as that all things then practiſed muſt be ſo in all after times, or that nothing afterwards might be practiſed, but what is found there. For, beſides meer circumſtances, and the rules of the law of nature, there are in ſeverall Churches, other things tending to the better edification of thoſe Churches, to comelineſſe, decencie, outward reverence, order, peace, (grounded upon generall rules of the word) which in other Churches are not ſo; by reaſon of the different cuſtomes of ſuch Countreies, and the diverſities of times and places wherein they were. (For that is comelineſſe and reverence in one country, which is not in another. So that my obſervation of few particular ſuperſtructures recorded in the Primitive Churches, namely of common, ordinary, perpetuall order, with the different practices in the ſeverall Churches, recorded in the new Teſtament, and ſometimes in the ſame Church, in many things of the outward adminiſtration of externall order, found proofs to me, there are not rules nor ruled caſes for many ſuperſtructures in externall Government. And as to that claule which followes, ſome

for all such cases wherein you find not a clear resolution from
 example or direction; you still professedly suspended; until God
 give you further light; not daring to take out what was deposited
 in matters divine with humane prudence, &c. For answer, I must
 say, you either say that in the Scripture, that we cannot see by all search,
 you practised many things that have no clear resolution from Scrip-
 ture, in example or direction, and pray in your Reply to this "An-
 swer me what clear resolution you saw from Scripture for your Church-
 covenants? If it be so clear, shew it us. What I came the word of God the
 Father, or came it to you only, hath God given us eyes to see and know
 the secrets of his Kingdom, to see such things as no glorious hypocrite in
 his own forme can see, and can we not see what is common to hypocrites
 and true Saints? Certainly had the *Church* had such clear reso-
 lution from Scripture for the Church-covenant, we would never have retur-
 ned answer after so long a time. *Mr Tho. Goodwin* answered to a Letter with a
 Quere concerning the Church-covenant. Confident we are (as confident it self can
 make us) that there is no commendment gi-
 ven to the Churches for exacting any such Co-
 venant of those that are to be admitted into
 Church-fellowship with them. *Quere* concerning the Church-covenant.
 I will desire after many weeks longer day to give satisfaction, in re-
 spect Church-covenant lay so deep and remote amongst the fundamentals of
 Church-fellowship, which debt I beleve was never yet paid to this day. I
 shall be loath for my part in any thing I practise or hold to have a clear
 resolution from Scripture, to put off my Brother for proof of it till to mor-
 row. Give me an Apostolickall example or rule (if you can) where ever
 the people alone made Ministers; why did you not here suspend how durst
 you make Ministers in this way by the people alone, and either be Mini-
 sters without imposition of hands at all, or if any imposition, not by the
 imposition of the hands of the Presbyterie, but the hands of the people,
 which are not only without any example of Scripture, but a-
 gainst the Primitive patternne and example. Give me a Primitive patternne
 whereby baptized persons professing the faith of Christ, and walking so, may
 be admitted to Fellowship and communion in the Lords Supper, without
 professing their membership of some particular Congregation. Give me a
 patternne of precept or example, where ever the lay-elders did examine
 persons professing the faith, whether they were fit for Church-fellowship, and
 how they did propound their names in the Congregation, with many such
 questions; so that you have dared to cke out divine matters with your
 owne

own inventions, not indeed with humane Prudence, but against humane Prudence and reason (as that instance in the way of your making Ministers by the people clearly shewes:) And I desire that you and others would consider what I say upon this occasion, that this is so preposterous and irrational a rule, that had you indeed, or should others observe it, to practise nothing in matter of externall order, unless you have a clear resolution from Scripture in an example or direction, you had never met together in a Church, nor can any society or company of men meet to those ends of constituting a Church and Government, and walking in the practise of it, but that some things must be done not particularly mentioned in the Scriptures. As for your calling humane Prudence, *the fatall error to Reformation*, I judge that the want of it in Reformation hath still proved fatall, as amongst the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and in *New-England* also, till humane Prudence corrected what was defective in the way of their gathering Churches at the first, and till humane Prudence punished by banishment and imprisonment (under the name of disturbers of the civill peace) many members of their Churches for *Fanaticisme*, *e Anabaptisme*, &c. without which courses, and other of the like kinde, their Churches and Common-wealth had been long ago ruined. And I much wonder you stile humane Prudence, the fatall error to Reformation, and make Reformation of the Church and humane Prudence, opposite, especially you your selves knowing and expressing in the twenty eighth page of your *Apologie*, the calling of this Assembly of Divines, *The way of God wisely assumed by the prudence of the State*. I suppose you call in out the way of God, as holding there is a clear resolution from Scripture in an Apostolicall Primitive patterne of the Churches erected by the Apostles, an Assembly so chosen by the Magistrates to draw up a Government and direction in worship for so many Churches, (many of which Churches have not so much as any one of their members there) but only, a way of God according to generall rules and Prudence, and so, wisely assumed by the Parliament, and yet I hope you and your party will not afterwards, if the Assembly should determine against Independency, stile that the fatall errour to Reformation. But how ever we gaine thus much from your being members of the Assembly, voting in it, and calling your selves by that name, *Members of the Assembly of Divines*, nemely a clear answer, that humane Prudence is not always a fatall errour to Reformation, and, that a man needs not alwayes suspend his practise, though he have not a clear resolution of example or direction from the Primitive Churches (witness the acceptance of your being chosen to the Assembly.) As to that Metaphoricall expression of yours, the ground of your judging humane Prudence so fatall to Reformation, *Least by your*

of the old garment to the new, you should make the rent worse. I answer; that not understood aright and soberly, it hath been and will be the great deformation in the Church, and running into errors on both sides: Thus the Anabaptists, least they should sow any peece of the garment into the new, renounce their Baptisme, and the Brownists will the materiall Churches pull'd down, and our Ministers and Congregations made noll; and all our Ministers and Congregations newly ordained dissolved. The ground of which mistakes ariseth from not considering the difference between the gathering and planting a Church out of Judaisme, and the purging and building up a Church corrupted with it. As for that promise of encouragement made to such a suspension (as you say) in your publick Assemblies was for your comfort often directed, you should have done well to have quoted the text, and then I might have asked the place, whether there had been a foundation for any such promise to few persons in a particular Congregation, withdrawing from the fellowship of other Churches, and forbearing all things in matter of externall discipline (though agreed upon by other Churches) without a clear resolution, or your example, or direction, that in so doing they should know the matter of order and government.

And a second Principle we carried along with us in all our resolutions, not to make our present judgement and practise a binding law unto others for the future. Which we in like manner made continuall profession of in all occasions. We had too great an instance of our own frailty in the breaking of our conformity; and therefore in a jealousy of our selves, we were resolved, (which we made open and constant professions of) to alter and amend (though but slightly) what ever should be discovered to be taken up out of our understanding of the rule: Which principle we wish were (next to that of our former, namely, to be in all things guided by the perfect will of God) enshrined in the most sacred law of all other, in the midst of all other laws and Canons, Ecclesiasticall in Christian States and Churches throughout the world.

This is a dangerous principle to go by in the Church of God, excellent for mutable men, and wanton wits fitted for libertines, and running heads, and no fixed nor settled Government, and serves well to the humour of a particular persons, but pernicious and bad for Nationall Churches and Synagogues, a reserve indeed and a good back doore to go out at from Brownism, to Anabaptisme, and from Anabaptisme to Sebaptisme, and from thence to Familisme and Socinianisme; It is a ready prepared way for those that will lead men into errors under the pretence of new light, to work up-ward to lead men from one error to another till there be no end. Which

kind

kind of principle of uncertainty in matters of Religion, the Remonstrants did hold forth in those sad times of the troubles of the Church in the Netherlands; that so they might overturn all formes and fashions, and the Church: both within themselves and one towards another might be led and associated: that was one of the speciall rules of the Arminians, *ut in omni doct:* But this principle of yours so carried all along in your resolutions seems to crosse that first principle of the Scriptures, the supreme rule and test for Church-government; for in effect it is as much as to hold out the Government and way of the Church visible is to uncertain and doubtful, that little or none may be positively laid down and concluded as *jure divino*. Now according to this second principle and profession of yours, why do you make such outcries and tragedies in the Church, forsaking all Churches you know not what, even for that which you made open and common professions upon all occasions you would not be bound to; and pray how can you agree with your principle of Church-government; that it is in all particulars perpetuall and unchangeable, when as you will be changed and altered? But certainly when you first fell to your Church-way and test by this principle, you were not resolved what way to follow, but thought you might years by adding now and then, and forsaking this and the other, till you might attain to something in the end: But let me aske you, ought men in matters of Religion, and in things of the Kingdom of Christ to be Scipturall and so irresolved, or ought not men to be perswaded in their Consciences? I hope the Parliament will observe this great principle you were first set on, and still are in all your Church-way, and will see how dangerous the changing of your way will be; for though you should for present hold nothing much different from the established rule, yet being allowed, what may come to; according to this principle, how shall any State be sure of you long what you will hold? What if you should bring in community of goods, baptizing in rivers, the holy kisse into your Assemblies at the beginning and ending of your Ordinances, annoynting sick persons with oyle? Is it according to your principle: And we see you make so much of this principle, and are so in love with it, that you wish it next to your first principle, namely as the most sacred Law of all other, to live and walk by it in Christian Societies and Churches throughout the world; and I am perswaded if you would hold out, you wish it instead of all other Lawes and Canons Ecclesiasticall: You are not content your selves to be Scipturall and loose in the government of the visible Church, but you would have all others to be like unto you, and make their present judgement and practice a binding Law for the future, and to make continuall professions upon all occasions of altering. But let us

There may be the reasons of such a passionate desire that this principle be established in all Churches, I conceive these following; 1. That others may be won and altering as well as you, the imputation of inconsistency and inconstancy might not stick upon you. 2. That so you might gaine more to your way and Church, by possessing them with this principle, (having this advantage to work upon, and this engine to draw the people with:) there is no more to be concluded on, but you are free and at choyce still to take what is most probable to you, (whereas if men be set down and resolved, they are not so ready to change.) 3. That so you might not, as you pretend, block up your way to further light, but keep alive that principle of New-light, and New-truth, that men must not content themselves with old truths and the old way, they must seek out after New-light; whereas establishment and settlement (upon serious debates and disputes) both in points of doctrine and in points of fundamentals and substantialls of discipline, as the truths of God and the way of men to walk in upon such Scriptures and reasons, will shut out further light, (as you conceive,) but this is a mistake to imagine that if any evidence from Scripture should come in afterwards (especially considering the Reformed Churches in their Confessions and Articles, hold that particular to be true) this may erre and may receive increase of knowledge, and for matters of discipline declare particularly, that in the accessories, accidentals, circumstances, Churches have liberty to change upon inconveniences and different circumstances that may arise that they are ever the further off from it. But this principle of irresolution and uncertainty in matters of Religion upon the notions of New-light and New-truth, as it is commonly laid down and drunk up by men of the Church-way, makes men unsatisfied, restless, doubtfull of their present practise, and upon searching when they can finde none, the search of their own corruptions will make some, and brings them old errors and old truths, and men being possit by some, that principles are to be New-light and that there are New truths and New-light never known before, Satan is wanting to raise up one or other to vent errors under those notions (as we see this day in the Antinomians and the Anabaptists) their great argument whereby they take so many, being that of New-light and New-truth which God hath revealed in these times. 4. I hope this principle so rooted in you, and your frailty in the former way of conformity, may be a reserve for you to come off from Independency to Presbytery upon the debates of the Church, and from your Church-way to the way of the Reformed Churches, which I heartily pray may be the fruit of this principle so openly and commonly professed, and am not wholly out of hope (especially of some of you.)

Thirdly, We are able to hold forth this truth and just Apologie un-

to the world, That in the matters of greatest moment and controversy, we choose to practise safely, and so, as we had reason to judge that all sorts, or most of all the Churches did acknowledge warrantable, although they make additaments thereto.

To this third great principle of yours I answer:

1. To it generally as you lay it down here generally, and afterwards more particularly to the instances and particulars brought by you to make it good. In this principle you labour to cast an odium upon all the Reformed Churches who differ from you, dealing by them in such a medium and way as the Protestants do by the Papists, whereas we alledge against the Papists that the Protestant Religion is *visitata*, and what we practise they themselves cannot but allow, only they hold and practise over and above; as namely they hold to Christs Righteousnes their own in the point of Justification, to Christs intercession, the intercession of the Virgin *Mary* and Saints, to prayers unto Gods prayers to Angels and Saints, to the Scriptures the traditions of the Church, to our Sacraments (confest by themselves) five others, &c. So here you say that you chose to practise safely, and so as you had reason to judge other Churches did acknowledge warrantable; but they make additaments, and thus you weave in all along in the particular instances under this head, and lay upon them to prove what they add over and above: Now besides the great dissimilitude and difference of additaments in the things themselves between the Protestants and Papists, and you and the Reformed Churches, the Papist additaments being in matters of faith and substance of worship, but the matters excepted against by you being about outward government and order, and not so much about the things themselves, the officers, parts of worship, but about the different manner and way of them (as you acknowledge in your eighth page:) and so you had no such cause to insinuate such matters against the Reformed Churches, yet consider that what you do hold forth and take in your medium, you have no good ground for, which will appear in three particulars, and so your Apologie held forth unto the world is neither true nor just.

1. I will demonstrate that in many matters of greatest moment and controversy you did not still chuse to practise safely, and so as you had reason to judge that all sorts, or most of the Churches did acknowledge warrantable.


2. That the Reformed Churches practised more safely then you, and did not make additaments as you charge them.

3. That you in many Church practises have made additaments and super-additions, and that in more materiall things then in such circumstances where in you tax the Reformed Churches.

For the first of these three: Take these three instances for the present. 1. It

matter of great moment and controversie to forsake the publike Assemblies which you confesse are true Churches and the body of Christ) and to separate assemblies without and against the leave of the Magistrate, Ministers and Churches: This is, by the judgement of all the godly and learned names of note, both in other Churches and in our own, condemned as unlawful, by Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Zanchini, Bullinger, Junius, Ponsinus, Arnesius, Voetius, &c. with Whitakers, Brightman, Perkins, Parker, Banes, Hilderham, Ball, &c. I could fill a book with the names of these and many others, and I do challenge the Separatists: of whom, whether them of the head-forme the Anabaptists, or of the middle-forme the Brownists, or the lowest-forme the Semi-Separatists, to give me any approved or allowed example of such a practise out of the Primitive pattern, I will yeeld the cause: As for that place *Rev. 18. 4.* your objection against that in your sixth page, of having any thoughts of our Churches Ministers to be Antichristian and Babilonish; I could alledge many Scriptures against this practise, *Jude v. 19. &c.* The Apostles who were sent by Christ into the world to make Disciples; and to bring men from Judaeism to Christianisme to belceve in Christ, and to plant Churches of Iustice, yet they never practised to gather and separate some Christians from the other part of the Church from the other, to go constitute a private Church, as *Corinth, Philippi, &c.* Although there were many corruptions and many wicked persons: But Paul taught and practised to censure and cast out offenders (but in case those who had power neglected their duty) he never commanded the godly to separate from the Lords Supper celebrated in the publike Assemblies; much lesse for a few to withdraw from their Pastors and other brethren, and to set up new Churches of themselves: You are Schollars, and well read in the Scriptures; shew me but any such direction from the Scriptures, and I am yours. 2. It is a matter of moment and controversie, the right making and calling of the Ministers of the Gospel; now all the Reformed Churches according to the examples of Scripture, hold, Ministers are not constituted by the people alone, and that the people have not power of Ordination and imposition of hands but the Presbyters, and yet you have practised the being call'd and made Ministers by the people, without the imposition of hands of the preaching Presbyters. 3. It is a matter of great moment and controversie, whether private Christians who were never trained up in doctrine and learning, nor intend not the Ministry, may in the publike Congregation Prophesie, which Prophesying as it is not practised by the Reformed Churches, so by most of them it is not counted warrantable; if you allowed it in your Churches, to which I might add more instances

instances; but that the book would swell into too great a volume.

To the second head, it is evident the reformed Churches practised more fully as in declining your way, in the last mentioned instances, in not permitting such as are lay-men to preach or prophesie, in not forsaking true Churches or true Ministry for the mixture of wicked men, but rather casting out such, who after admonition continue impenitent; & in other practices practising as the Apostles, receiving men into their fellowship without any such curious inquisition and long detention, sending men from one to another, and requiring such preparatives and conditions to Church-fellowship (as your Churches have done.) The waies and practices the Reformed Churches walked in, were the good old way, known and beaten for some score of yeares, in which many great lights and godly people have walked, and so more safe then his and new waies that a few men but of yesterday have taken up, and have not yet well aired, much lesse digested: And in the name of other Reformed Churches, *France, Holland, Scotland*, I deny the things you charge them with to be additaments, or to be properly so called; for if the particulars instanced in by you, will be found to have a footing in the Scriptures and practised in the Primitive Apostolicall Churches, then they will be no additaments, or if some of those things alledged by you be of the nature of circumstances in the point of government and order, or according to the rules of the law of nature and the rules of common prudence, agreeable also to the generall rules of the word; then they are not truly by you called additaments and super-additions; for  it is one thing to adde to the word of God and his worship, and another thing from generall rules of the word and common principles of the light of nature and prudence, considering the differences of times, places, persons, dispensations of gifts, to explicate and determine of many things in the administration of the visible Church: Now of things of this kind something must be which the word of God presupposes, or else you can have no settled government in the Church; and you may as well stile set Catechismes, confessions of Faith, reading of Chapters translated by others, singing of Psalmes between Chapters and after Sermons, preaching constantly upon Texts of Scripture, giving thanks after eating meat, &c. additaments, as some of the things instanced in by you. And let me hie this to you (which I know you understand well enough) but forget it often to parallell it with other passages, that in your practise of the administration of the Sacraments, and in other parts of worship you adde severall things besides what is recorded of Christ or the Apostles practise, or given particularly in any precept, (which I speak not to blame such practices) but to minde you such things as are not truly additaments.

We said, that you have made additaments and superadditions, and that
 you materiall things then the Reformed Churches, being your selves guilt-
 lesse, you accule them, this being the strongest plea, and the only plea
 set forth in all your book by way of Argument, the rest being bare Narra-
 tive. I shall make good against you by particular instances: the proving of
 the lawfulness of yours from Apostolicall directions must rest upon you who
 have, and in so doing have departed from your selves and other Reformed
 Churches; amongst many particulars take these following: To the Ministe-
 ry, touching and dispensation of the word, you subjoynd prophesying by
 simple men. To the power of government by the Officers of the Church,
 you added the power of the people. 3. Injoyning in particular Congre-
 gations you did super-adde the Church-covenant. 4. To the Pastor you
 added the Teacher, as a necessarie distinct Officer from him, and so necessa-
 rily one of your Churches you had two Teachers, and have been some
 without a Pastor at all, (which is a sad condition for people to be with-
 out a shepheard.) 5. To the Deacon you added the Church-widow as a
 distinct Officer, and as necessary for the perpetuall government of the Church.
 6. Your Parochiall Assemblies in *England*, which you call in the sixth page
 your Churches and body of Christ, and abhorre the thought of counting
 themselves Christians; where you say you hold communion as with true Chur-
 ches, yet have super-added and erected new Churches. 7. To our Ministe-
 ry in Parochiall Assemblies (which is true also by your own confession and
 acknowledgement) you have superinstituted and superinducted another Mini-
 stry, one of which particulars to be laid down in the Primitive patternes I
 positively denie, and it rests upon you who allow what Reformed Churches
 do, in the particulars instanced and many more, do practise over and
 above what the Reformed Churches do, to make evident and demonstrate upon
 cleare grounds, especially when men set up a new way, and leave the practise
 of the Reformed Churches, (double light being required for separation in any
 kind, whereas single light sufficeth for any man continuing in his standing.)
 The necessity of all other things in the matter of practise in the
 Church, the meddling with the keyes of the Kingdome of *Heaven*, *Letter to*
 touching the doctrine and discipline, with the withdrawing and *T. G.*
 building up of new Churches of Christ, and the Ministerie thereof, wherein men
 have converted and built up, and have converted and built up so many,
 building up of new Churches against the leave and will of the civil Ma-
 gistrate, to the content of those Churches departed from, and to the
 grief of so many godly Ministers and Christians, may the scandall
 of these new Churches, and all this under pretence of spirituall power and
 liberty

liberty purchased for them by Christ, had need have a clear and full proof, and not be built only upon such weake and slight grounds, as flattering similitudes, witty allusions, remote consequences, strained and forced interpretations from hard and much controverted Scriptures: And now by what I have already answered to this Principle in these three particulars, let the indifferent Reader, and your own consciences be judge, whether you or the Reformed Churches practise most safely, and do that which most Churches acknowledge warrantable, and who is most guilty of making additaments, when as you and all of your way allow that which they practise in the seven particulars instanced in; but you practise many things which all Churches condemne, excepting the Churches of the Independent way; and if one thing be considered to what I have said that you put the weight and stamp of divine Institution, and necessity upon your additaments, making them parts of worship and efficacy, as upon prophesying, as upon the office of Teachers distinct from Pastors, but the Reformed Churches in what you call their additaments, even in some of them instanced in by you, put not so great an authoritie, but only an allowance and lawfulness of set-formes of prayer prescribed, not a necessity, but a lawfulness of mixtures in Congregations, so as not to leave the Church for that; and in other practises, you count additaments in matters circumstantiall of time, place, manner and way of doing things, which upon good reason may be changed, so that here is a wide difference between that which you call their additaments, and yours truly so called, and let me adde this double great pinch of a conscience and the poyson in Ecclesiasticall matters concerning outward Government and order (wherein the Scripture hath not laid down a particular rule for) lyes in the stamp of putting a necessity and a divine Institution upon them, and unto such and of such is that Scripture spoken so frequently in the mouthes of men of your way. *In vaine do you worship me, teaching for Doctrine the commandments of men.*

Apolog. For instance: whereas one great controversie of these times is about the qualification of the Members of Churches, and the promiscuous receiving and mixture of good and bad; therein we chose the better part, and to be sure we could not but such as all the Churches in the world would by the ballance of the Scriptures acknowledge faithfull. And yet in this we are able to make this true and just proof also, that the rules which we gave up our judgements unto, to judge those received in amongst us by, were of that latitude, as would take in any number of Churches meanest, in whom there may be supposed to be the least of Christ, and indeed by and no other at all the godly in this Kingdome carry in their bosomes to judge by. We took measure of no mans holiness by his opinion, whether countering and adverse unto us; And Churches made up of such, we were sure no Praetorian

(as touching the members of it) to be a true Church, with which communion is to be held.]

Having answered generally, I come now to the particulars brought to me by the third principle good, and shall shew how little there is in them to be good, that they are brought for.

Your first instance of choosing the better part, and so to be sure receiving members of Churches, but such as all Churches in the world hold by the ballance of the Sanctuary acknowledge faithfull.

To speak nothing now of that, how in Churches there may be a receiving of some of the Ordinances (and so to be under the care of the Ministers) and receiving of others to all the Ordinances, that is, there may be members as to all the Ordinances, and so according to the first there may be a promiscuous receiving and mixture, for which there are good reasons and instances as in children, catechumenists, but must needs at large every point now which your Narration hints at.

In your admission of members you chose not the better part, nor the best, but on the hand of charity and love is the better part, and safer for which charity if you look into the 1 Cor. 13. *hopes the best, thinks no evil.* And a man had better receive some of whom there may be some that will fear, then discourage and refuse any of Christ little ones, which is the principle of practise hath done abundantly in New-England and in other places. But here in your Narration you deal fallaciously in stating the question. For the question is not about receiving in none, but such as all Churches in the world would acknowledge faithfull; but about receiving in all and refusing in none, the Churches had no reason, but to acknowledge faithfull; For according to your words laid down, and as you would carry it to deceive the world with of receiving none, but such as all Churches would acknowledge faithfull, you might receive in, but a few of high forme Christians, whom also all Churches in the world would not (as some hold the ballance) acknowledge faithfull; and so you might receive in, but a very few. And it is not your practise that many whom all the Reformed Churches hold for members, having a competent knowledge of God, Christ and themselves, and free from all scandalous and grosse sins, and outwardly practise duties to God and man, even multitudes of these you will not admit, nor do you receive into your Churches. And as to that just and true profession you are able to make, that the rules you gave up your judgement unto, to judge those you received into your Church, were of that latitude to take in any member of Christ, &c. I must needs say like some of your just and true professions before, namely, unjust and untrue, and this is neither the first nor the last unjust and untrue profession.

fession in your Narration, and I shall make it good both by your practice, and by some rules laid down by some of your selves. Master Goodwin's Letter in answer to Master John Goodwin grants, they require of men to admission into their Churches, that they know what belongs to Church-fellowship, and do acknowledge the same, and approve thereof, with other things of that nature: now whether this be a rule of that latitude, that will take in any member of Christ, the meanest, in whom there may be supposed to be the least of Christ, and indeed such and no other, as all the godly in this Kingdome carry in their bosomes to judge others by: I appeal to your own consciences. That holy Martyr Bradford with many more, not only the least, but great men in the firmament of the Church, never knew nor dreamt of what belonged to your Church-fellowship, and I am confident that Master Goodwin, Master Bridge, my self, with many others, many yeares after we were members of Christ, and conversed together in Cambridge as Saints, yet understood not what belonged to this Church-covenant and Church-fellowship: and this is such a rule that multitudes of the godly in this Kingdome, carry not in their bosomes to judge others by, nor would not themselves be judged by, nor ever heard of such things till your times: And if your rules were of such a latitude as would take in any members of Christ the meanest, whence came it to passe that in New-England so many men (in whom the godly have presumed to be something of Christ) and who are you to judge the contrary, have not yet been admitted, and amongst many other instances that might be given in your own Churches, I will name one: Mistris Symonds, a modest, humble woman, many yeares well reputed of in England, of godly Parents, wife to a godly Minister, who though her husband was received a member of Master Symphon Church, and then chosen the Pastor, yet his wife could not be received into the Church a long time, and whether yet she be I know not: I have been told also from one who lived in those parts, that after Master Symphon upon sending from Master Bridge had set up a new Church, one who was upon his triall for admission into Master Symphon's Church, was openly asked by a prime man (who had a hand in that rent) what his judgement was of the Brethrens liberties prophetic, and if the man had not been right in that point, it might have hindered his Membership: And that the Reader may not be abused nor amused with such kind of passages, but that it may appear what ever here you say you have other rules, and require other things of men to communion with you, pray satisfie us: What was the reason, and what is the matter that when Master John Goodwin fell to your principles and way, so many godly persons of his own Parish could not be received in by him as Church-members, nor accounted so, without yeelding to some rules and conditions, which they being mem-

Christ (and some of them none of the meanest) could not condescend
 unto that you say, *You took measure of no mans holinesse by his opinion,*
concurring with you or adverse unto you. I appeal to your consciences,
 whether some others whom you have accounted godly should have decla-
 red their opinions adverse to your Church-covenant, and other of your
 Church-principles, and yet being in *Holland* should have desired for the time
 to be admitted to fellowship with you in the Lords Supper, whether
 you have admitted us? Now to that passage of yours in the close of
 last instance: and Churches made up of such wee were sure no Pro-
 testant could but approve of, &c. This goes upon the mistake observed by
 you, That the question in controversie about Church-members is not,
 or may be meant, Whether Churches made up of such members, as all
 were faithfull, be by all Protestants approved of to be true Churches, with
 whom communion may be held: But whether communion may not be held
 with such Churches, and such received into communion and fellowship of
 Churches, whom many Churches (especially yours and those of the Church-
 way) doe upon your principles acknowledge true and fit matter. And in
 this sense all Protestants of note are against you, and for us, accounting
 such Churches (as you here instance in) an *Utopia*, holding it *Donatism*,
Antiquism, and when the Papists do in their writings father upon them
 the visible Church as you dreame of, and such principles as you hold, they
 make it (as learned *Whitakers*) (*Whit. de Eccles.*) it being the constant opini-
 on of the great Protestant Divines, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Zurichius*, *Junius*, &c.
 That the visible Church of Christ consists of good and bad, resembled there-
 fore to a field, nor, *hoore*, where chaffe as well as good graine, &c.

Again, concerning the great Ordinance of publike Prayer, and the
 lawes of the Church, whereas there is this great controversie upon it about the law-
 fulnesse of forms prescribed; we practised (without condemning others) what all
 the Churches and themselves do practise also, that the publike prayers in our Assem-
 blies should be framed by the meditations and studie of our own Ministers, out of
 the scriptures (the fruits of Christs Ascension) as well as their Sermons use to be.
 These were sure all allowed of; though they super-added the other.

To this second Instance concerning the great ordinance of publike prayer,
 and the Synagie of the Church, I shall give you one Answer after another,
 according to your expressions upon it, wherein I finde you like
 to the other precedent parts, in generalls and in the dark, so as few
 can tell by your Narration here what you hold and practise about
 publike prayer.

Whereas you say, *There is this great controversie upon it about the law-
 fulnesse:*

fulnesse of set-formes prescribed. I must tell you this great controversie upon it is raised only by your selves and the Brownists, there being no Divines, nor no Reformed Churches that I know of, but do allow the lawfull use of set-formes of prayer, composed and framed by others (as by Synods and Assemblies) and do make use of such sometimes, as the Churches of *France* and *Holland* in the administration of Sacraments usually do, and those who practise them not so much, yet at least hold them lawfull. And I challenge you to your reading to name one Divine of note and Orthodox that ever held the formes of prayer prescribed unlawfull, excepting only Independents.

2. What understand you by set-formes prescribed, whether prayers made and framed by others: As suppose by an Assembly or Synod, but yet not imposed, or whether prayers composed by others, and then prescribed and required by authoritie to be used? Now if you say you understand it in the second sence, that you question the lawfulnessse of that, but not in the first: I aske you whether you will practise, and do hold it lawfull to use in your Assemblies, Prayers made and framed by others? As suppose a Directory for worship, which I the rather aske you, because your words afterwards turned as the ground for your own practise, and against the practises of the Reformed Churches, speak against all set-formes of prayer composed by others (That the publique prayers in our Assemblies should be framed by the meditations and prayers of our own Ministers out of their own gifts) which reacheth to all prayers framed by other men, though they be left at liberty to use or not use them: And further this argument of yours speaks only against formes of prayer, as in the first sence, but speaks not at all to it, as imposed and enjoined; but let your expressions of set-formes of prayer prescribed be taken in the second sence, yet I am ready to maintain, against you that set-formes of prayer, lawfull for their materialls, and established by a lawfull power to be used in the publique Assemblies, may lawfully be practised by Ministers, and the people safely joye in them.

3. As I aske of you in what sence you took set-formes prescribed, so I desire to know whether in the questioning of the lawfulnessse of set-formes of prayer, you understand only formes of prayer framed by men and Ministers in the Church, or whether not also prayers recorded in the Scriptures (as for instance the Lords Prayer) whether ever you practise the use of that in your Assemblies (which question I make, because I never heard that any of you ever used the Lords prayer, either in your own Assemblies, or in ours, nor indeed that any of your way did, it being now made by many a note of Formallist) Now if you account the use of it lawfull, considering the great efficacye the totall disuse of it gives to many, and how it hinders the word to many.

that Scripture with other like, 1. Cor. 10. 32. I wonder how you
 (and by the way let me tell you that 1. Cor. 10. 32. is stronger to
 you the use of the Lords prayer, then for what it is alleaged by
 the twentieth page, namely, for your principle of submission of Church
) And I propound to you further, whether if some other prayers
 word recorded in the Scriptures should be put into a Directorie, you
 use them? As also, whether you would practise the reading of ser-
 mons and Chapters appointed out for you?

As for the practising your own prayers without condemning others, I
 say, that is not so, 1. Because you bring many arguments against ser-
 mones of prayer, framed by others and prescribed that amount to a condem-
 nation of a high nature, tending such prayers will-worship, inventions of men,
 evident both by Manuscripts and by printed Manuscr. Arg. of Mr Nye
 against Master Davenports, Master Cottons, Mr against ser-
 mones of prayer.
 2. You with-drew from our Sacraments and prescribed.
 3. You stumbled upon this ground and have drawn many away with you,
 and so up new Churches.

It may be you will in this Narration have this evasion, that though you
 condemn the practise, yet not all the persons that use them, you do not con-
 demn as ungodly. I answer, no more Mr Williams answer to M. Cottons letter.
 David Brownists nor Anabaptists, who Queries proposed upon occasion of an
 Apologeticall Narration. Robinson A-
 polog. cap. 12. de Eccles. Anglic.
 those prayers, and yours too, for they ac-
 knowledge both you and us to have eminent personall graces.

As to that Argument brought by you for conceived prayers, but a
 good many made by other men, I briefly suggest these following things
 to the Reader. 1. That by your own concession ser-formes of pray-
 ers are unlawfull, because they be set and framed before hand, and not con-
 sidered suddenly, wherein you grant, that the publique prayers in the Assemblies
 be premeditated, framed and studied before hand, as well as Sermons,
 this concession takes off one of the strongest Arguments used against ser-
 mones of prayer. 2. I answer, it is not against the fruits of Christs ascension
 to Heaven, and of giving gifts unto men for the Ministry, that they do not
 use in all their prayers exercise their own gifts of invention and compo-
 sition of prayer, for so the using of the Lords prayer should be unlawfull at any
 time to the Ministers (which is no prayer framed out of their own meditati-
 on and study, and their owne gifts.) 3. I answer, there is a great dissimilitu-
 dine in many respects, between Sermons and prayers, so that it will not hold,
 that Sermons ought to be framed alwaies out of our own gifts, that there-
 fore

free prayers alwayes should be. And this I will demonstrate in a Discourse of the lawfulness of using set-formes of prayer composed by others. It is not against the fruit of Christs Ascension, nor the gifts given then for Ministers, in some instructions and teachings of the people to make use of some thing sometimes in publike, either doctrinall or practicall, not framed out of their owne gifts, but by others. As suppose the reading in the Congregation to the people often some confession of faith, or some exhortation about many things of use to them, having still the free use of their gifts to preach besides. 5. Suppose you five should joyne together out of your owne meditations and studies, exercising your owne gifts to frame publike prayers of maine petitions needfull for the state of all your Churches, whether might they be used by you in your publike Assemblies. 6. Whether each of you by your selves framing upon meditation and study a set-forme of prayer, may not use that often in your Assemblies without sin, having also your liberty to adde conceived prayers at the same time.

But to put all out of question about the second instance, I judge this for formes of prayer prescribed taken in both senses, that is neither made nor framed out of the gifts of the persons who use them, nor left at liberty, but by publike consent agreed upon to be used, are not unlawfull to be practised: but the Scriptures give us examples for such prayers, as in 2 Chron. 29. 30. *David over Hezekiah the King, and the Princes commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord, with the words of David, and of Asaph the Serr: and the singing praises with gladnesse, and they bowed their heads and worshipped.* And therefore the use of set formes of prayer, framed and composed by others and prescribed, having example in Scripture (as well as conceived) are no additament nor superaddition; but the Reformed Churches in practising both, practise most safely, according to Scripture patternes, and your Churches using only one sort and not the other, leave following examples recorded in Scripture; and we may more justly cast upon you the taking away from Scripture (taking away being a like braided by Scripture as adding;) But you do unjustly cast upon the Reformed Churches adding to the Word, the Scriptures holding out examples for both: And for the further clearing your mistakes in this great ordinance of publike prayer, I shall only adde this; all that God hath commanded either in the old Testament or New about publike prayer, is, that prayers be made in the publike Assemblies, and that those prayers be of petitions for their matter and kind lawfull, according unto the will of God, directed unto God alone in the Name of Christ, with humility, fervency, and such like; but that God hath required, that as oft as Ministers pray, they must put up prayers framed by their own meditations and studies out of their

and that the words and phrases must be various and diversified, and that prayers are not lawfull, there is never such a fillable to prove from Scripture; But we have examples of both, namely set and extempore, and Gods servants used both indifferently, and we may use them according as we see occasion, and as we finde may make most for Gods glory. And I desire you in your Reply to this Answer to give any instance to the contrary and I shall thank you, for I seek truth and not victory nor contention; And let me mind you whilst you are in this instance to clear your selves of additaments, you are in this instance guilty of taking away from the Word, filling short, (as in matters) praising above what is written, besides your different way of writing in some things.

As touching the Government and Discipline in the Churches; I am to testify of the Reformed Churches is in greater matters to govern each particular Congregation by a combined Presbytery of the Elders of severall Congregations, and one for government; yet so, as in their judgements they allow of special cases, a particular Congregation, an entire and complete power of jurisdiction is committed by the Elders thereof within it selfe; They and our own the Countwright, holy Baynes, and other old Non-conformists, place the power of jurisdiction in the Eldership of each particular Church with the consent of the flock, until they do misbehave, and then indeed they do subject them to, such Synodical and Provinciall Assemblies as the proper refuge for appeals and for settling of differences amongst Churches, which combination of Churches others doe therefore call Ecclesie quæ, but particular Congregations Ecclesie præteritaneæ; firstly the power and priviledge of a Church is to be exercised, and secondly we could not but imagine that the first Churches planted by the Apostles, were that of no more in one City at first then might make up one entire Congregation, with their own Elders, that also preached to them; for that in every City where there was a number of converts did or should arise so such a multitude as to make several sundry Congregations, or that the Apostles should stay the setting up of assemblies at all, untill they rose so such a numerous multiplication as might require a Presbyteriall combination, we did not imagine. We found also those Non-conformists (that wrote against the Episcopall government) in their Answer to the Arguments used for Episcopall government over many Churches, brought from the multitude of believers at Jerusalem, and other places and Cities mentioned in the new Testament, to assert that it would not be infallibly proved that they were read of in the Acts and elsewhere; were yet so numerous, as they exceeded the limits of one particular Congregation in those first times. We were also testified by them all, that there should be severall Elders in every Congregation,

gation, who had power over them in the Lord; and we judged that all those precepts, obey your Elders, and them that are over you, were (to be sure, and as great in) meant of the Pastors and Teachers, and other Elders that were set over them in each particular Congregation respectively, and to be as certainly the intendment of the holy Ghost, as in those like commands, Wives obey your own husbands, Servants your own Governours, to be meant of their severall families respectively. We would not therefore but judge it a safe and an allowed way to retain the government of our severall Congregations for matters of Discipline within themselves, to be exercised by their own Elders, whereof we had (for the most part of the time we were abroad) three at least in each Congregation, whom we were subject to: yet not claiming to our selves an Independent power in every Congregation, to give account to be subject to none others; but only a full and entire power compleat within our selves, untill we should be challenged to erre grossly; such as Corporations enjoy, who have the power and priviledge to passe sentence for life and death within themselves, and yet are accountable to the State they live in. But that it should be the intention of Christ or his Apostles, that the combination of the Elders of many Churches should be the first compleat and entire seat of Church power over each Congregation so combined; or that they could challenge and assume that authority over those Churches they feed and teach not ordinarily by virtue of those fore-mentioned Apostolical precepts; was to us a question, and judged to be an additament unto the other, which therefore rested on those that allowed us what we practised over and above, to make evident and demonstrate: (and certainly of all other the exalting of all spirituall power from Christ, had need have a clear patent to shew for it) but we appeal further unto them that have read books, whether untill those late writings of those two Reverend and learned Divines of Scotland, six years ago we returne, nor much more then two yeeres since, and others of no elder date from Holland, and one of our owne Divines more lately written with much learning and ingenuity, there hath been much seltly and directly, or with strength insisted on to prove that Government, and although assert and inculcate it they do as their opinions, yet the full strength and streame of our Non-conformist writings and objections, are spent rather in arguments against, and for the overthrowing the Episcopall Government, and the corruptions that cleave to our worship, and in maintaining those severall Officers in Churches which Christ hath instituted instead thereof (in which we fully agree with them) then in the proof of a combined Classical Presbyterian Government as it is authoritatively practised in the most Reformed Churches.

Before I give a full answer to your third and last instance of the Government and Discipline in the Churches. I premise this; that in all the differences between you and us in the principles and practises of the Church

Church and Government of it, you give but three instances only, wherein you practise more safely then the Reformed Churches (although you make this your principle and matter of it in the eleventh page,) yet there are many things besides these three, wherein you practise differently from all Reformed Churches; as in the way of gathering and constituting Churches, in the way of making Ministers, in the power you give the people in Church-government, *cum multis aliis*: Why did you in this Narration passe by these? Is it either because you were not willing to tell all you hold and practise, (the first being not yet come to open all your way and principles, which is one of the things I blame you for, your reservedness in keeping back so great a shewing us only the fairest side of that wherein you differ,) or else if you thought fit to have related them; you in your owne wisdomes questioned whether those other particulars wherein you differ would bare so the case as of practising most safely, and of fastning the odium of addition well upon the Reformed Churches, as these three instances you give; but whether they take an occasion to shew further how the Reformed Churches practised more safely on both hands then you, neither adding nor taking away, so I might strongly retort this whole third principle of yours back upon you, but that may suffice I have already hinted of it.

For the third and last instance of your walking safely, but fastning additions in Government and Discipline on the Reformed Churches, this be shewed so largely as that it is a third part of your Book within a very little, beginning in the twelfth page, and continuing to the end of the one hundred and twentieth page, containing in it many various things: I must therefore be content with the intermixture of persons and things in this part of your Narrative, then in any other, going forward and backward, up and downe, that I may have nothing escape of moment, I shall endeavour to draw out the severall of these twined threds and entangled discourse, and to winde them upon their severall bottomes, by reducing this part of your Narrative to the following heads; whereon I may more distinctly fasten my answers, both to you and the Readers better satisfaction.

1. You relate what the Reformed Churches do practise and allow, as also what our old Non-conformists granted, and what your selves allow and grant to a Church and the Government of it.

2. You relate what you disallow and are not satisfied in.

3. You couch some arguments and reasons for your owne way and practise against the practise of the Reformed Churches.

4. Your answer a common objection brought against your way, by laying downe the principles that you hold in such a case, as also by relating your practise

practise occasioned upon an offence committed in one of your Churches.

5. Upon this answer you make a comparison between the effectualness of your way in what you hold and practise, and what the Presbyterians hold, to reduce Churches and to compose differences: in which comparison you make the scales to fall on your side rather.

Now the Reader must expect here as in other passages of this Narration, generall, doubtfull, dark, partiall and reserved relations with mistaking the questions which, in my answers I shall observe: and point at all along.

To the first of these five heads, (wherein also are three particulars,) To the first of these concerning the Reformed Churches, namely, what they practise and allow: I answer, you should have done well to have instanced their practises, what were the greater matters governed in common by the Presbytery of severall Congregations, and what were the lesser matters wherein each particular Congregation was governed by their particular Elders; As also what were those cases wherein the Reformed Churches allow particular Congregations such an entire and compleat power to be exercised by the Elders within themselves, and wherein not; such a particular Narration would have carried in the face of it some ground for the difference of their practise and allowance, and might have served to have pointed out the difference between your way and theirs. But secondly, As you relate the way and Discipline of the Reformed Churches, it sounds somewhat harsh and strange that their practise should be one way and their judgements another, their practise to governe each particular Congregation by a combined Presbytery of the Elders of severall Congregations united in one for Government, and yet in their judgements to allow, especially in some cases a particular Congregation an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction within it self: Do they practise one way and allow another way, or do they hold both wayes the wayes of God, or what is it you meane in this Narration of those Churches, or can it be meant in the same sense and acception to practise one thing and yet allow another? will you make the lesser matters practised in their particular Churches by their owne Elders to be the same with some cases, wherein they allow particular Congregations an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction within themselves: Now the latter, namely in some cases, cannot be meant, for then the last part is no more then the first, neither can your words of an entire compleat power of jurisdiction in the particular Congregations be meant of lesser matters, but of the greatest matters in some cases: You shall do well in your Reply, to english these lines about the difference of the Reformed Churches practises in greater matters, and their different judgements in some cases, and shew us in what sense they meane it, and whether it can be properly

acknowledged for your sake of entire and compleat power in your Congregations. Thirdly, This which you here relate of the Reformed Churches, and allowance is fallaciously set downe and for your owne advantage, merely to make out this third principle, that you still chuse to practise, namely, what the Reformed Churches allowed and acknowledged allowable, only they superadded Presbyteriall combinations, whereas the Reformed Churches do not, as you well know in the case and question concerning between them and you allow particular Congregations in a Kingdom or Nation, receiving the Reformed Religion to have an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction within themselves, what may be in some of them in extraordinary or speciall cases, where there is but one particular Congregation in a Countrey or the like, that is nothing to the point in this case laid for a common ground by them all, that every particular Church in a Nation or Kingdome is not to be left to it selfe, but that there is need of a common Nationall Government to preserve all the Churches in peace; And to clear the Reformed Churches of *France, Holland, &c.* what you say they allow, I do not see in their books of Discipline and platform of Church Government (by which we are to judge of their judgements) nor in their practices, that they do allow entire and compleat power to be exercised by the Elders of every congregation, either in the making or ordaining of Ministers, or in deposing their Elders, or in drawing up a forme of Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline for themselves, they allow power of admonition, suspension from the Lords Supper, and taking up lesser differences by the particular Eldership; and if in some of the Churches of *France* only, practise excommunication by the particular Congregations, without carrying it at first higher; but we consider that in those Churches of *France* their Elderships go upon the same rules in their excommunications laid downe in their books of Discipline (who if they proceed otherwise are liable to censure themselves) and being appeals to Synods and Assemblies, and all being carried in dependence to Assemblies; the case is very different: now if the Churches of your way and communion in old *England* and in New, would have a Government fixt and sealed by Synods and Assemblies; established by the Magistrater, upon which Rules and Orders they should proceed in the way of making Ministers; and that such errors in doctrine and such offences, ought to be the subject of excommunication, and then agree to be appealed to Synods and Assemblies, then there would be lesse danger in giving entire and compleat power in particular Congregations.

Reformation of Church government in *Scotland*, cleared, pag. 18.

To the second particular under this first head, namely what some of the old Non-conformists grant, placing the power of excommunication in the Eldership of each particular Church, until they do miscarry, and then indeed subjecting them to Presbyteriall and Provinziall assemblies; and that it could not be, infallibly proved that any of the Churches recorded in the New Testament, were so numerous as necessarily to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation: And that both the Ministers of the Reformed Churches, and our Non-conformists, all granted that there should be severall Elders in every Congregation, who had power over them in the Lord: I answer as follows; For Master *Cannwright*, you not quoting which of his books you have reference to, and so not knowing which to turneto, to finde out what you asert of him, I shall not deny it, but as for Master *Baynes* *Diocesans Tryall*, (which is the only book I ever heard of, wherein he handles these points) he doth in the third question give the Ecclesiasticall power and the exercise of it to a united multitude of Presbyters, in which book, howsoever as intending his book against *Diocesan Bishops* and *Diocesan Churches*, to whom all Presbyters and Churches stand in subject and subordination, he pleads against them for the power of the particular Elders in the severall Congregations, yet as against the Reformed Churches practise, namely of a Presbyteriall Church consisting of many particular Congregations and ruled by the Elders of severall Congregations combined, he pleadeth not, but expressly in answer made to those two objections from the Churches and Elders where there is a co-ordination and a community in government, as in the Low-countries, and at *Geneva*, he grants the thing contended for against your Congregationall way (even before miscarrying), and shewes the great difference between the *Diocesan* government and the *Presbyteriall* in severall particulars, and answers your objections which you commonly make of a forraigne extrinsecall power: And for your better satisfaction, read and compare together the passages in these pages of Master *Baynes* *Diocesans Tryall*, page 21. page 22. What is meant by a *Diocesan Church* and in the twelfth page, two first conclusions agreed in, and in the sixteenth page: And for the Non-conformists in their writings against the Episcopall government and *Diocesan Churches*, though they put the Bishops their adversaries all they could to it, to make them prove infallibly and necessarily a particular Church to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation, yet they never intended it as against the Reformed Churches: Now you know me saying, *Autoris aliud agentis parva est autoritas*: But shew us where the old Non-conformists as against the Reformed Churches held so: it will appear by *Gerson Bucerus*, and by the practise of the Reformed Churches in *Geneva* and *Holland*, (for which

objects against them in his Apologie). *Robins. apol. c. 1. de Eccles*
 though they were against the government of *aplica. int.*
 and Diocesan Churches (that is of a head Church over many Con-
 gregations united to it) yet not of a particular Church of such a City, con-
 sisting of many particular Congregations: And as for that you take for gran-
 ted, all that there should be severall Elders in every Congregation, it is de-
 nied: For some Divines, as *Daneus* and *Carrwright* (as I remember) hold
 it necessary for every small Congregation in Villages, but for Cities and
 populous places to which the lesser Villages being conjoynd, have the
 aid and support of all the Elders and Ministers in the exercising of go-
 vernment. As for that you say, Others of them calling the combination of
 Church Ecclesie ortz, but particular Congregations Ecclesie prime, as
 chiefly the power and priviledge of a Church is to be exercised (that
 is Master *Parker*, who in his *Politia Ec-*
clesiastica gives this indiction) and was the first who *a Polit. Ecclesi. l. 1. c. 12*
 brought up (as ever I read of) who differing from *& c. 12.*
John Heynes and other Non-conformists, and most Divines of the Refor-
 med Churches in the subject of the power of the keyes, giving it to the
 Church, agreeing therein too much with you, *b Polit. Ecclesi. l. 1. c. 12.*
 would be called particular Congregations Ecclesie prime. But as he was mistaken in the first receptacle and subject of the
 power of the keyes, so he might be in his distinction of Ecclesie prima and
 secunda. For the first Churches, namely that of *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, with
 others were not particular Congregations, but Churches consisting of ma-
 ny Congregations, severall meeting places, some preaching in one place,
 others in other places, but governed by the Elders in common, which Ci-
 ty Churches were the first Churches still first planted by the Apostles, and
 the lesser Congregations in Villages were Ecclesie ortz (the City Churches
 being the mothers, and the particular congregations rather the
 children) the full prooffe and demonstration whereof I referre to a tractate
 about the nature of the visible Church. But by what I have an-
 swered upon this head the Reader may observe there is not all granted,
 that you took for granted from the Reformed Churches, and the Non-
 conformists, and what is yielded, flowes from another spring, and is
 from another ground writing against Diocesan Bishops (quite another
 matter) but otherwise even when Non-conformists have come to write
 of the separation, and upon the nature of a visible Church (as Master
Parker) they hold the contrary: And for learned *a Bails friendly tryall of*
 other Churches (even when they writ against separation.

Episcopacie) yet they were farre from holding that a particular visible

* *Gerſon Bucerus Diſſert. de Gub. Ecclef. p. 71.*
*Non particularem Eccleſiam intelligimus quemlibet
 congregationem cetum in unam vocationem divi-
 nam Evangelii predicatione ſacramentumque inſtitu-
 tionum obſervationem adunatum, ac uni Preſby-
 terio ſubjectum, ſacros vero conventus duo aut
 pluribus locis agitantem. Nam Patetiarum in
 quibus conveniunt numerus accidentaria res eſt,
 nihil ad Eccleſie particularis eſſentiam pertinent.*

Church was only a particular congregation* (as *Gerſon Bucer* in his answer to *Dr Doleman*) a particular Church is any company of beleevers conjoynd in the obſervation of holy ordinances and united to one Preſbyterie, keeping their meetings in one or more places: For the number of Pariſhes in which they meet is a

thing accidentall being nothing at all to the eſſence of a particular Church. And even the Non-conformiſts you ſpeak of, as it appears by the wary expreſſions your ſelves uſe of them, namely *infallibly* and *necessarily* do even give the cauſe; For that is (as you imply) the Non-conformiſts in their answers could not deny but probably the number of beleevers were ſo numerous as to exceed the limits of one particular congregation in thoſe firſt times, though not *infallibly* and *rationaly*, though not *necessarily*: Now in points of external order and government which depend upon the ſtory, and circumſtances of time and place, how many things are there praſtiſed; but of preſumption, though not of certainty, and though they cannot be *infallibly* and *necessarily* proved, ſo as to ſtop all mouths, and all that the wit of man can poſſibly ſee out, yet if the things aſſerted can be but probably proved upon better reasons then the contrary, we may incline to that as to the ſafer part: How many Pariſhes and tenants have you in your Church-way that cannot be *infallibly* and *necessarily* proved, but ſtronger answers may be and are given to the ſtories you bring for them, then any the Non-conformiſts could give to that influence of the Church of *Jeruſalem*; and yet you hold to your principles for all that; and it is a rule hath been pleaded by ſome of you, that in things of that nature where the Scripture is not expreſſe, but holds them out moſt probably though not *infallibly* and *necessarily*, yet we ought to incline to that: As for *Maſter Baynes* answer (though directed againſt *Dioceſan Biſhops* and *Dioceſan Churches*) to that inſtance of the Church of *Jeruſalem*, it is no whit ſatisfactory nor concluding to any man, who is of another judgement, as the Reader may read in the 15. and 16. page of the *Dioceſ. Tryall*.

To the third particular under the firſt head; namely, what you aſſert and grant about a Church and the Government; that you could not but imagine that the firſt Churches planted by the Apoſtles, were ordinarily of one ſort one Cite at the firſt then might make up one entire Congregation, ruled by their own Elders that alſo preached to them, and that you could not but judge it a ſafe

may to retain the government of your severall Congregations for discipline within themselves to be exercised by their own Elders, &c. In answer I must first complaine of your old fault, the slippery and unconstant expressions used in the relation of what you own and allow about a Church in those phrases, *the first Churches ordinarily* and *at first*. I demand of you, why you put in *ordinarily* and *at first* was it not because you meant the Church of *Jerusalem* and some few others recorded in the New-Testament, though not in the first Chapter of the *Acts*, and at the beginning of the *Acts* at last by the eighth of the *Acts* and *Acts* 23 amount to more then one meet in one Congregation, and therefore you express it so. Is this reasoning, or what other reason can you give for using such doubtful expressions: the question is not between you and us, whether all the Churches consist of the Churches, or whether at first, and in the beginning of them consisted of no more in one City, then to make up one Congregation, whether the Scriptures in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* and *Epistles*, be it first or later gives any patterne or example of a particular Church, among the number of them, who may ordinarily meet together in one place for the worshipping of God, and sanctification of the Lords day, this can be proved, overthrowes Master *Robinsons*, Master *Cottons* definitions of Churches and your principles, who all keep to this as to a foundation which is built many of your other practises: For we know at first the Church of *Jerusalem*, and other Churches were not more numerous then to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation, neither could it be expected all should come in at first, and we know for many other Churches the Scriptures do not so particularly relate the growth and accessions of them: In any one instance can be given, it is not materiall whether first or last, first or later, whether in the beginning, middle, or end of the story for then the objections and assertions of a particular visible Church are overthrowne, and an affirmative overthrowes a universall negative. And I aske of you whether you take *ordinarily* here as opposed to extraordinary, or take *ordinarily* as commonly as opposed to rarely and seldome; now if you meane it in the first sence, that the Church of *Jerusalem* and other Churches that may be named in their case was extraordinary, and though the Apostles suffered them to grow so ranke and numerous, yet we may not do so now: I desire to know of you then, what is become of your first generall rule the *Primitive pattern of Churches erected by the Apostles*, and I desire to know what rule you will be, and whether the first constituted Church of all were not likely to be the pattern for constituted Churches, seeing *Primum in unoquoque genere est norma ceteris relinquerum*. But if you meane *ordinarily* in the second sence

sence, as that there is but one only instance, the most if not all other Churches were otherwise; that you see will not by what I have above written help you, besides what ever you can probably alleadge that the Churches of these times should be conformed to such Churches, which consisted of no greater number then to make one particular Congregation, I will give more and better why the Churches of a Nation and Kingdome should be conformed to that of *Jerusalem*; As for those phrases of yours, which you bring in by way of caution and clearing the way of your government within your selves, *that you claime not an Independent power to give no account or to be subject to none others, but only a full and entire power compleat within your selves, untill you shall be challenged to erre grossly.* Whilest in these first lines you deny Independent power in words, yet in your latter words you grant it, claiming a full and entire power compleat within your selves, which is Independent power, and is the full sence of that which hath been fasten'd on you by us; and I will shew it more fully in the proper place; when I come to the 23. page (especially if you take upon you to enjoy it so long, *untill you shall be challenged to erre grossly*) I had thought it had been enough upon your being challenged to erre to have given an account, but be like it must be erring grossly (I suspect something lyes under this, as under many other of your phrases, whereby you evade and hide your selves, stating poines wrongfully) Pray what do you account erring grossly, and whether do you judge any thing erring grossly in your particular Churches, but such kinds of sins in manners, and such kind of opinions as are against the Churches known light, and the common received practises and principles of Christianity professed by the Churches themselves and universally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches; and no other sinnes to be the ground of giving an account (as they are not of Excommunication with you, page 9.) (both being of equall latitude, sinnes of particular persons to a Church, and the sinnes of a particular Church to a Community of Churches) and if that be your meaning you shall be Independent enough. And then further I demand of you, how you can use those phrases of not claiming a power to be *subject to none others*: I confesse you may better use those words of giving account holding, counselling and advising by sister Churches, but as for that phrase of *subjecting to none others*; I understand it not, what censure will your Churches subject unto from other Churches, will they yeeld to the deposition of their Ministers, Excommunication of their members, or how can there be any subjection to other Churches in your principles (the phrase being taken properly and usually) when as all along you plead against authoritative Presbyteriall power, so oft exprest in page 15, 16. and in the great point in controversie in this instance betwixt you and the Presbyter

oft do you deny the subjection of a particular Church to all others, and are against all subjecting to censures, yea to be *subjected* as to counsel and advices from the other Churches. As to that phrase, *your own Elders*, if you had three at least in each Congregation whom you were subject to, you seem to hold out the government and power of the Church to the Elders, and not in the body of the Congregation, I desire you to satisfy me in this point, whether all of you hold the power and authority to be in the Elders or in the Church, and whether by *goe* tell the Church is meant, the Elders or the body of the Congregation, and whether according to the principles of the Church-way in Master Robinsons workes, and the books of Mr. England, and Master Bridges. (unlesse some of you have any other light) you might have written three Elders at least in every Congregation to whom the Church was subject, or else three Elders were subject to their own Congregations: and this shall suffice.

Mr Bridges letter to Mr Tosts Mr Smith, Mr Henry King, &c. The keyes were given to the whole Church; unlesse wee say they were given to Peter only and his Successors: search the Scriptures and see if you can find any place, where any body or particular Church is subject to one man or officer.

to the first head of the five concerning the third Instance. In the second head under this third instance, what you are not satisfied in, we allow: 1. About particular visible Churches; That you could not

in every City where the Apostles came, the number of the converts did or should be such a multitude as to make severall and sundry Congregations.

About the government of it, That it should be the institution of Christ and Apostles, that the combination of the Elders of many Churches should be the strength and entire seat of Church power over each Congregation so combined, that they could challenge and assume that authority over those Churches

and so, &c. In both these you deale fallaciously and relate the controversy to your advantage and our disadvantage. For the first, whereas had

ingeniously your words should have been these, for that in any City, where the Apostles came the number of converts did or should arise to such a

multitude as to make severall and sundry Congregations, you put it in every City

we affirme not, nor need not to carry the cause against you, for it wee

find it in some Cities, or in any Cities that the number of converts did

arise to such a multitude, as to make severall and sundry Congregations, then

the Scripture holds out a Presbyteriall Classicall Church, and over

your grand principle about a particular Church. And Reader observe the fallacie of these Apologists, how in the manner of their expression,

they propound it, though the thing may be true, yet they alter quite the

the state of the Question. For though in every City, where the Apostles came, you could not imagine the number of converts should be so great nor we neither, yet in some Cities you might have well imagined it, as in *Jerusalem* and *Rome*. But Brethren, why will you who are Schollars, and without question weighed well all your words and manner of expressions, having so many heads in the framing this Apologic, deale thus with the Reader in a Narration: speak truly, though you did not imagine the number of converts were so many in every City, yet did not you imagine the number might be so great in some Cities, as in *Jerusalem*; and if still you will not imagine it, for the helping of your imagination, consider whether you have not more reason (if not infallible and necessary, yet probable and rationally) to imagine the Church of *Jerusalem* consisting of so many thousands of people, and having so many Ministers to preach unto them, as twelve Apostles besides the seventy Disciples, and they meeting in so many distinct houses, and not having the power and command of any publike large place or liberty (throughout the times) to fit it for such multitudes to hear the word, joyne in prayer and Sacraments, should have severall and sundry Congregations rather then should imagine all those should make but one standing Congregation to meet in one place and roome.

2. It is stated otherwise, carried higher then need be granted, and that in all your expressions of it, for the Scriptures may hold forth a combination of the Elders of many Churches for government and yet not be the Institution of Christ or his Apostles: It may be allowed and agreeable to the word, have a *jus divinum permissivum* upon generall rules of the word, and according to the rules of the law of nature and of Prudence, yea and may have some examples of it, and yet not amount to a divine Institution, many who hold the thing will not in those phrases own it.

2. These Elders of many Congregations may have a power of Government in common over all, and yet not be the first seat of Church-power; for it is not denied but some particular Congregations, having a competent number of Presbyters, both have and may exercise Church-power, before any such combination is, or can be.

3. These Elders combined may have Church-power to rule these Congregations so combined, and yet not have a compleat and entire seat of Church-power, but a power liable to appeals unto Synods and generall Assemblies. The question between you and us is whether Classes or Presbyters have power in Ecclesiasticall matters, as Ordination, Excommunication, &c. within the number of Congregations so combined, or may by warrants from the word exercise any power in Church matters, but in their own particular

the question is not, whether it be the Institution of Christ or his Church, that the combination of the Elders of many Churches should be the clearest and entire seat of Church-power: As you state it, you strangely turn the question to lay it down in these words, *That the combination of Elders of many Churches should be the first seat of Church-power over each congregation so combined*, whereas the opinion of the Reformed Churches is contrary, not holding Classes and Synods to be the first subject of Church-power, from whence it is consequently derived and conferred upon particular Churches but that particular Congregations having power in themselves and amongst themselves equall power, do in Classes and Synods confer and execute in common their own power, even as those who are colleagues and equall members of some political Societies.

The power which particular Officers, and Presbyters of combined congregations may have over particular members of those Churches they reach immediately, doth not amount to the challenging and assuming an authority over the Churches they feed and teach not; your expression is a mistake, it is not assuming a power and authority by some over other Churches, but it is over the whole, and of themselves too, even those particular Churches and Officers over particular members; as in the Parliament no member has power over another, more then another over him, but the whole hath power over all the particulars; for the clearing of which, the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland speak fully in their Reformation of Church-government in Scotland cleared, page 24, 25. And for the close of this second head, you stand upon what you are not satisfied in but disallow, if you impartially consider that the Scriptures in the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles* as well hold our grounds, yea and more indubitable (as I shall be content in a particular Tractate of the visible Church) that the first particular Churches planted by the Apostles consisted of more congregations, or distinct places, then of one only congregation, you will acknowledge that where there are many Presbyters to feed and rule, and many more Churches living in a vicinity, then can meet in one place, it is not the most allowed way to retain the government of each congregation in themselves, neither that it is an additament in the Reformed Churches, but rather an additament on their part, who living in a City where the number of believers are so numerous as to make many meetings, were to make these places and persons such distinct Churches (as to all things each one within themselves, and not to grow into one for the whole). And I am so farre versed in these controversies, that I challenge you to give me an example of any City where it is probable the

and said Church is mul-

multitude of beleivers were so numerous as to make many meeting places, that ever they were governed and ruled but in common, or ever called Churches but Church, still called the Church of *Corinth*, and the Church of *Jerusalem*: I fore-see only one Instance that can be probably alledged, that in *Rom. 16.1. Of the Church which is at Cenchrea*, which *Cenchrea* was a part of *Corinth* and next to *Corinth*, yet named a Church as well as the Church of *Corinth*, but the insufficiency of that ground I shall at large shew in the Treatise of the visible Church; which Primitive practise hath so farre wrought with some of the Reformed Churches, as those of *Holland*, that in great Cities where the number of their people are so many as they cannot meet in one place, but have more meeting places, yet in imitation of the Scriptures (giving that ground to some who have askt them a reason) they make City Churches but one, and the Ministers are Ministers in common of them all, preaching in their courses in the severall meeting places, and governed in common, and this they do to keep nearest to Apostolicall practise; whereas now in the country where villages are, and the meetings are scattered, they doe all preach to all: And to adde this further, to shew your unsafe way of practising in the way of your particular congregations, over the Reformed Churches and our Churches in *England*, your congregations (as in *London*) where the meeting place is, and the Ministers reside, is made up of members, as of some living in *London*, so of some in *Surry*, *Middlesex*, *Hartfordshire*, *Essex*, where they have *fixum domicilium* being twenty miles asunder, and many members meeting but sometimes in a Month, where neither Ministers can oversee them, nor members watch over one another, not knowing what the conversation of each other is (which yet are brought as the maine grounds for your Church-fellowship) which non-residence of the members from one another, and of the Officers from so many of the members, whether it overthrow it and be not point blank against many of your principles of the Church-way, I leave to your selves to judge? Besides that it is without any Primitive pattern and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles, the Churches being still stiled according to the places where they lived and met, as in *Rom. 16.1. To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be Saints*: And so in the Epistle to the *Corinthians*: *To the Church of God which is at Corinth*. And I desire you to give me any Primitive patterne of any who belonged to the Church of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Jerusalem*, (that is, were standing members of those Churches) who lived and inhabited ten miles, twenty, five miles or round about those Cities, so that we find here in this third instance, namely in the government and discipline of the Churches, as well as in the first instance in the qualification of your members, that the additament is on your sides and not on the reformed Churches.

In the third head, namely the reasons couched and hinted for your owne
 and against the practise and way of the Reformed Churches: to the
 I answer, as the relating of the state of the questions was not
 so; for this argument hinted here is not properly expressed, for there
 can be such a Presbyteriall Church and Government as is maintaine'd against
 namely but two or three distinct meeting places, and yet not Churches,
 such a numerous multiplication, nor Apostles staying to the setting
 of Churches untill they rose to such a numerous multiplication: But pray
 do you meane by those expressions? We did not imagine, but might
 or could you not have imagined it, though you did not nor would
 and what by this, that the Apostles should stay the setting up of any
 Churches at all, untill they rose to make such a numerous multiplication as
 such a Presbyteriall combination. Do you carry the words in re-
 ference to that numerous multiplication? or simply and positively, that
 the Apostles did not stay so long in any City as to set up any Churches at all?
 If you will have your words interpreted in the first sense, then judge
 the speech and Narration of your mind is, for then it
 should have gone thus, that the Apostles should stay the setting up of
 many Churches untill they rose to such a numerous multiplication,
 in denying the setting up of any Churches and at all, agree not with
 following words, untill they rose to such a numerous multiplication; the
 being a diminutive, nay a negative, and cannot agree to such an aug-
 ment as the latter, besides your first words carried in reference to the
 have no strength to prove what you bring them for, namely what
 allowed and practised, or what you disallowed; for though the Apostles
 did not stay so long as the setting up so many Churches as might arise to
 such a numerous multiplication of severall and sundry congregations, yet
 there might be such a Presbyteriall classicall Church, a Church consisting of
 churches could meet it one place, which is the controversie between us:
 If you understand your words simply and positively, that the Apostles
 did not stay the setting up of any Churches at all, I desire you to remem-
 ber your owne principles and expressions in many books and discourses of
 your way, that the Apostles were the founders of the first Churches, as at
 Antioch, Rome, and for Jerusalem especially, (which is the particular Church
 we stand upon) the Apostles staid long enough there, to set up not only
 Churches at all, but many to make such a Presbyteriall combination as
 is intended for, as will appeare, both by Acts 8. Acts 15. Acts 21. and it is
 the judgement of Master Robinson, that Jerusalem was never without
 the Apostles there (which the two first chapters of the Galatians

give a strong ground for,) besides the many Presbyters that belonged therunto; And so for the Church of Ephesus, Paul stayed at one time in those parts three yeeres together, long enough to make so many Churches might make a Presbyteriall combination: which that of the 14th chap. verse 17, 18, 25, 28, 29, 31. do give hints enough for, if the nature of an Answer to a Narration would permit to draw them out at length. To the second reason hinted, that those precepts, *Obey your Elders and them that are over you*, were to be sure meant of the Pastors and Teachers sit in them in each particular Congregation respectively, and so be as certainly the intendment of the holy Ghost, as in those commands, *Wives obey your owne husbands, &c.* I answer, that in Scripture a particular Church consisting of more congregations then one, and the Ministers and Elders feeding them and governing them in common (as at Jerusalem, and as it is in the Low countries, in Cities there, as at Amsterdam, &c.) all the Ministers and Elders are their owne Ministers and Elders, as the husbands are the owne of their wives, and those Scriptures are to be understood of all their Pastors and Ministers, and not of some onely, or in respect of some, and not of the rest, and it is as certainly the intendment of the holy Ghost (as in that command, *Wives obey your owne husbands*;) that obey your Elders, &c. be meant not of some but of them all. 2. In Churches by their combination consisting of many congregations where ordinarily some Pastors and Teachers feed some congregations and not the rest, Ministers being fixed, some to that congregation, and others to other congregations, yet therelike a government in common by all the Presbyters of those congregations in all weighty matters and greater cases that fall out, those precepts of *Obey your Elders and them that are over you*, reach to all the Elders as well as those that particularly and ordinarily preach to them, and however it is true such places are especially understood of them, yet not of them only, and alone, as excluding others, as your argument carried it, but including others who are over them too: And to answer you by your owne instance given of servants, obey your owne governours, as by vertue of that text, particular servants are to obey their owne Masters, so by the same text each particular servant and all of them together of such a Company and Hall, in the things and rules of their calling for the publike good of that Society) they are to obey and be subject to the whole Company, namely the particular Masters of other servants as to their owne masters, yea and to submit to the common Orders and good Rules of such a Hall and Corporation though their particular Masters do not Vote for but against them. 3. Those Rules who are of the Presbytery are not forraigne nor extrinsicall to the

but intrinsically and naturall as well as their particular El-
 derly another without themselves doth not bear rule over them, but
 all together by common consent do rule every one, which is a most
 and free form of Church Government, for the proof of which I shall
 charge but referre you for satisfaction to what is said to this point,
 by the Commissioners of the Church of Scot-
 land by some Churches from beyond the seas, in Reformation of Church
 government cleared, p. 25
 upon occasion of your Apologie. 4. It
 is a way of reasoning from the economicall relations and govern-
 ment of husbands over wives, and fathers over children, and masters over
 servants, and their subjection and obedience to husbands, &c. unto the Eccle-
 siastick and Politickall, because it is not to speak *ad idem*, for in each of these
 sorts of government is different: for instance in those economicall rela-
 tions a man can have but one husband, one man can be but her husband,
 one man a father, and the wife and child cannot relinquish them, disavow
 though very bad, nor deny those duties they owe them in those relati-
 ons thus censured by the Church, but they are to obey them, which yet
 is not in the members of a particular congregation to Elders and Mini-
 sters are unworthy and excommunicated, that the members must be sub-
 ject to them. The Royalists that argue so from that subjection and obedi-
 ence which children owe their fathers, to subjects subjection and obedience
 to Kings; and the Hierarchicall men, that argue from what children
 owe naturall parents though wicked and ungodly, to what the people owe
 to Ministers, are answered at large, and you know what Master Robin-
 son in your way say to that: Now the same will serve to answer
 comparisons, that the places hold not alike between the people and the
 Ministers and the wives and their husbands: Master Baynes answers in the last
 of his *Dilectans Fryall*, that which is objected touching Pastors and Fa-
 thers, that the similitude holds not in all things, parents and shepherds, are
 not only parents and shepherds, be they good or evil; but spirituall pa-
 rents no longer so then they do accordingly behave themselves. 5. The
 Ministers you give of wives *they have their own husbands, and servants have*
their own masters, doth not therefore only tie them to civill subjection and o-
 bedience to husbands and masters, exempting them from subjection to any
 other, but they are subject to the Magistrates in the Common-wealth and to
 the Lawes notwithstanding, so neither doth the Scriptures, *they have El-*
ders, (supposing the full latitude of those Scriptures were of the Elders
 of particular Congregations) forbid or exempt men from that Ecclesiastick
 subjection and obedience which concerns them as they stand in relation to
 the community.

To the third Reason hinted for your selves, and against the Presbyteriall Churches; that the Elders of other congregations should have power to rule over Churches; which they do not teach and feed ordinarily, by virtue of those forementioned precepts, was to you a question, &c. I answer, Suppose three or four congregations in one great Town, should have Ministers in common to teach and feed them ordinarily (as in *Holland*) would you in such a case yeeld to a Presbyteriall combination; if you say you would, then the case is determined for us; and thus I judge it was in the *Acts of the Apostles*. The Primitive Churches, but if you answer you would not yeeld to such a Synodical government, then I reply; 'tis not for want of such Ministers teaching you and feeding ordinarily that you will not obey, but upon some other ground; and then this argument is lost: Secondly, I answer, your ruling Elders do not feed nor teach you ordinarily, but only governe you, and yet by virtue of those forementioned precepts you obey them, and are subject to them, so that this is no good argument against the lawfulnessse of having power and authority over those whom men teach not ordinarily; for then what becomes of the ruling Elders in the Church, who are neither Pastors nor Teachers.

To the fourth Reason drawn from Corporations, who have the power and knowledge of life and death within themselves; which kind of power you would have. I answer, you cannot frame a good argument from Corporations and civill power, to bodies Ecclesiasticall, and spirituall power, and I might give you the many differences alledged by your selves between civill power, and Ecclesiasticall, and the different manner of dispensation, but I must not enlarge

a *Robinson's* Justification of separation. b Mr. *Burroughs* on *Hofa*, seventh Lecture, p. 174. If we consider the difference between Ecclesiastical power and civil power, we shall see it clear that there cannot be a ministerial, head of the Church. c *Ames. Med. Theol.*

here, only referre you for this to
"Master Robinson," Master Burroughs,
and "Doctor Ames." 2. Corpora-
tions go according to the Laws of
the Land, and to their Charters
agreed upon, and made in Par-

ments, they make not themselves a Corporation, nor go not according to private rules and orders to passe sentence of death, &c. but are ruled (though they have Officers, as Major and Aldermen) by the Lawes of the Land, so going, they may more safely have a power within themselves: but your particular congregations set up your selves without leave of Magistrates or Ministers, not proceeding upon common rules of government in sentences of excommunication, &c. agreed by Synods, but only upon your owne will, and private rules which you have fancied are laid downe in Scripture. 3. Corporations though they judge their members, and passe sentence of life or death within themselves, yet sometimes, nay often in greater cases and

the inhabitants are tried, and sentences passed upon them in other
 Justice, and that when they would proceed against them, yet the
 carried higher to be tried. If you would grant this in the Corporations
 congregations, that Assemblies and Synods might judge and passe
 upon your members (as oft as they see just ground) the controversie
 end. 4. The Corporations (that is those in place and power) if
 unjustly, are accountable to the State they live in, that is to a
 power, and adjudged themselves in cases of wrong, condemning
 suffering delinquents to escape, but your Corporations of par-
 congregations even in case of male Administration, are against all judg-
 Ecclesiastical Authoritative power out of your own congregations.
 Reason hinted by you to strengthen your practise that it was
 and the Reformed Churches more questionable, namely ap-
 to them who *do not read books*, whether much hath been written with
 and directly to prove that government, but rather to overthrow E-
 and to maintaine those severall Officers in Churches which Christ hath
 and therefore you inferre you might have more ground to question
 of combined *Classical* *Presbyteriall* government. I answer, the
 that is fully laid downe in the Reformation of the Church of
 page 17. and 18. with an account of what hath been written and
 Reformed Churches in *France* for the *Presbyteriall* way, and against
 Independent way (which is more then you once in this Reason
 suppose that in former writings of *Calvin*, *Biza*, *Zanchius*, *Peter*,
Domani, *Jamius*, *Zepherus*, *Gersum Bucerus*, *Doctor Reynold*, *Parker*,
 not been much setly and directly insisted on, and with strength to
 government of Synods and Classes (though in some of these more
 against the Church of *Rome*, and *Episcopall* government, much
 brought for the government by Synods and Classes) yet that which
 of *Scotland*, *Holland*, *England*, have written of late against the
 congregational government, might have been enough to have
 you, and that not materiall that no more have written, seeing our
 of two or three witnesses every word shall be established; and if
 had not strength to satisfie you, why have not you all this while
 them? but I must minde you of forgetting one of your owne Di-
 besides the learned *Licensers* book against *Independence*, another
 written, call'd *Reasons against the Independent government of parti-*
congregations, and the *Toleration of them in this Kingdome*: which book
 to take no notice of, I beleeve you remember above the rest,
 page of your *Apologia*, it appears you remember it, but the Au-
 thou.

thour of it belike is none of your Divines. And in the close now of this answer to your Reasons hinted about the government and discipline of the Church, why you in your Congregational way should be in the truth, but the Presbyterian government was in question to you and judged an addurance, because the Presbyterians *allowed* you what you practised, and granted what you held, but themselves held and practised over and above; I answer, there is no Argument at all for by the same reason the Samaritans should have stripped God truly, but the Jews falsely, and the Samaritans might have said to the Jews as you do to the Presbyterians; the five books of *Moses* which we own to be sure they are from God, you acknowledge them, but for the books of the Prophets, thats question which rests upon you that allow what we hold, to make evident and demonstrate: and so the *Jews* may say by the same reason speak against the Christians, and say, we are in the *Law*, to be sure we practise safely, for you Christians confesse what we hold, namely *Moses* and the Prophets to be the Scriptures, but for the new Testament that is to us a question and an addurance, which therefore rests upon you Christians to make good, who believe and practise over and above us.

Apolog. And whereas the common prejudice and accusation laid upon our thoughts against us, and our opinions is, that in such a Congregational government thus entire within it self, there is no allowed sufficient remedy for discipline, though never so grosse; no relief for wrongfull sentences or persons injured thereby; no room for complaints; no powerfull or effectual means to reform a Church or Churches that fall into heresie schisme, &c. but every man left and may take liberty without controule to do what is good in their own eyes; we have (through the good providence of God upon us) from the avowed declaration of our judgements among our Churches actually during our exile, and that also confirmed by the most solemn instance of our practise, whereby wish to vindicate our selves and way in this particular, which upon no other accusation we should not have undertaken publickly.

God so ordered it that a scandal and offence fell out between those very Churches whilst living in this banishment (whereof one our selves that write these things were then the Ministers) one of our Churches having unhappily deposed one of its Ministers, the other judged it not only as too sudden an act (having proceeded a matter of so great moment without consulting their sister Churches, as was likely professed we should have done in such cases of concernment) but also in the proceedings thereof as too severe, and not managed according as the Lord laid down in the word. In this case our Churches did mutually and mutually acknowledge and submit to this as a sacred and undoubted principle and foundation to be observed among all Churches, that nobody worse of that discipline

Churches as well as particular men are bound to give no offence neither to the Gentile, nor the Churches of God they live amongst; So that in all cases of offence or difference, by the obligation of the common Law of communion, and for the vindication of the glory of Christ, which in common is due to the Church or Churches challenged to offend or differ, are to submit themselves upon the challenge of the offence or complaint of the person wronged, to a full and open triall and examination by other neighbour Churches, and threat of what ever hath given the offence: And further that by vertue of this and like law if not partaking in other mens finnes, the Churches offending may and ought upon the impenitencie of those Churches, persisting in sinne and miscarriage to pronounce that heavy sentence against them, of withdrawing and renouncing all Christian communion with them untill they do repent; And to declare and protest this, with the causes thereof, to all other Churches, lest that they may do the like.

And thus further authority, or proceedings purely Ecclesiasticall, of one or more Churches, towards another whole Church, or Churches offending, the Scriptures do hold forth, or can rationally be put in execution (without the Churches interposing a power of another nature, unto which we upon his own significances, and examination of such causes, proffesse ever to submit, and be most willing to have recourse unto) for our parts we saw not then, nor see. And likewise we did then suppose, and do yet that this principle of Churches that miscarrie unto other Churches offended, together with other, that it is a command from Christ enjoyned to Churches that are offended, to pronounce such a sentence of non-communion and withdrawing communion whilst impenitent, as unworthy to hold forth the Name of Christ, this principle being received and generally acknowledged by the Churches of Christ to be a mutuall duty, as strictly enjoyned them by Christ as any other) might be as effectuall meanes (through the blessing of Christ) to awe offending Churches and their Elders in their duties, as that other of claime to exclusive power Ecclesiasticall to excommunicate other Churches or their members; for if the one be compared with the other, in a meer Ecclesiasticall union, that of Excommunication pretended hath but this more in it, than is a delivering of whole Churches, and their Elders offending unto judgement (for which we know no Warrant in the Scriptures, that Churches should have such a power over other Churches.) And then as for the binding of the one way and the other, it can be supposed to lye but in these two things; First, In a warrant and injunction given by Christ to his Churches, to bind the one or the other into execution: And secondly, That men are to be accordingly taken therewith, so as to subject themselves whither.

ther unto the one way or the other : For suppose that other principle of an authoritative power in the greater part of Churches combined to excommunicate other Churches, &c. to be the ordinance of God, yet unless it do take hold of mens consciences, and be received among all Churches, the offending Churches will slight all such excommunications as much, as they may be supposed to do our way of protestation and sentence of non-communication. On the other side, let this way of ours be but as strongly entertained, as that which is the way and command of Christ, and upon all occasions be heedfully put in execution, it will awe mens consciences as much, and produce the same effect, as if the Magistrates power (to which we give as much, and (as we think) more, than the principles of the Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yield) do but assist and back the sentence of other Churches denouncing this non-communication against Churches miscarrying, according to the nature of the crime, as they judge meet, and as they would the sentence of Churches excommunicating others. Churches in such cases, upon their owne particular judgement of the cause; then, without all controversie this our way of Church proceeding will be every way as effectuall as their other can be supposed to be; and we are sure, more brotherly and more suited to that liberty and equality Christ hath endowed his Churches with, but without the Magistrates interposing their authority, their way of proceeding will be as ineffectuall as ours; and more liable to contempt, by how much it is pretended to be more authoritative; and to inflict a more dreadfull punishment, which carnall spirits are seldom sensible of. This for our judgements.

And for a reall evidence and demonstration both that this was then our judgements, as likewise for an instance of the effectuall success of such a course held by Churches in such cases; our owne practise, and the blessing of God thereon, may plead and testifie for us to all the World. The manage of this transaction in brief was this. That Church which (with others) was most scandalized did by Letters declare their offence, requiring of the Church (supposed to be) offending in the Name, and for the vindication of the honour of Christ, and the relieving the party wronged, to yeeld a full and publick hearing before all the Churches of our Nation, or any other Whomsoever offended, of whom they could give in charge against their proceedings in that deposition of their Minister, and to subject themselves to an open triall and review of all those forepassed carriagees that concerned that particular; Which they most cheerfully and readily (according to the forementioned principles) submitted unto, in a place, and State where no outward violence or any other external authority either civill or Ecclesiasticall, would have enforced them thereto. And accordingly the Ministers of the Church offended with other

of much worth, wisdom and piety, members thereof, were
messengers from that Church; and at the introduction and instance
of this solemn assembly (the solemnity of which hath left as deep an im-
pression upon our hearts of Christs dreadfull presence as ever any we have
been present at,) it was openly and publicly professed in a speech that was
in answer to that discussion, to this effect, that it was the most to be abhor-
red doctrine that any Religion hath ever made profession of, and therefore
was the most contradictory and dishonourable unto that of Christi-
anity, that a single and particular society of men professing the Name
of Christ, and pretending to be endowed with a power from Christ to judge
of those that are of the same body and society within themselves, should fur-
ther arrogate unto themselves an exemption from giving account or being
answerable by any other, either Christian Magistrates above them, or
other Churches about them. So farre were our judgements from that
of Liberty, that is imputed to us, then, when we had least de-
sired in this Kingdome, or so much as hopes ever to abide therein in
peace. And for the issue and successe of this agitation, after there had
been for many dayes an iudiciary and full a charge, tryall and depo-
sition of witnesses openly afore all comers of all sorts, as can be expe-
cted in any Court where authority enjoynes it, that Church, which had
thus, did as publicly acknowledge their sinfull aberration in it, re-
called their Minister to his place againe, and ordered a solemn day of
humiliation themselves afore God and men, for their sinfull carriage in it;
and the party also which had been deposed did acknowledge to that Church where
they had likewise sinned.

In this part of your Apologie are contained the fourth and fifth of
the five forementioned heads, unto which I referred all I should answer
you say upon your third and last instance about the Government
and Discipline in the Churches. The scope of which fourth head is, to
take off a common objection brought against your way, the
length of which answer is made up of these parts, and stands in these par-
ticulars. First, In laying downe your owne principles which you hold in
this case. Secondly, Your practise according to those principles, occasi-
oned upon an offence committed in one of your Churches (which story you
have related.) Thirdly, The successe and effectualnesse of your practise
according to your principles, illustrated by an instance.

Now to that common exception laid into all mens thoughts against
your congregational way, it's both a just and strong Argument against it,
which many of your way, when it hath been objected to them have
confessed,

confessed, there is no remedy nor help in such cases, but advice and counsel, all must be left to Christ, Christ will take care of his own way, they had not found out this allowed sufficient remedy for miscarriages which you have here propounded, but I shall labour to make evident, that all you bring by way of answer in declaration of your judgements and practise doth not satisfie this objection. And first for your judgement in the principles you hold and lay downe, I shall endeavour to prove, that you have no Scripture grounds, nor Primitive patterns for such principles, and such a way in such cases. Secondly, Besides that these principles have no footing in Scripture, and so they are no allowed remedy for miscarriages, &c. are not, nor will not be a sufficient remedy for miscarriages, nor reliefs for wrongfull sentences, nor powerfull effectfull meanes to reform a Church, &c. For the first I shall take it for granted, you being wth men, that in such a point as this (being the maine point of difference between you and the Presbyterians) and at such a time as this you would bring the strongest Scriptures and grounds you had for your sacred principles and supreme Law to be observed among all Churches, namely of submission of Churches, and for that other principle of pronouncing that heresie, schisme, or non-communication against a Church or Churches; and if I can shew the invalidity and weaknesse of these brought by you, a man may conclude ther's no fear of what's behinde: Now a man would wonder how wise men as you are, should except against a Government received so generally amongst the Reformed Churches, and blessed so from Heaven in the effectualnesse of it, for the space of so many yeeres, as a sufficient remedy not only to reduce men from heresies and Schismes, but to prevent Churches from falling into heresie, schisme, &c. (which is more) and goe in to a new way so different and so distastfull to the Reformed Churches, and all upon pretences of no sound proof in Scripture for such a Government, because there is not an Apostolicall direction either in example or precept for it, and in the meane time to contend for such a Government wherein your selves cannot deny but hath fallen out strange miscarriages, and you tell us an unhappy story for proof, and yet the way and remedy you have substituted for remedy, hath neither example nor precept in the word of God to justify any use of all that you relate to us, and besides that the course prescribed by you is not commanded in the word, it is so whit so rationall, nor conducing to the ends you appoint it for, as will shew presently. Now for the Scriptures brought by you, the first is, 1 Cor. 10. 32. Give none offence neither to the Jewes, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God: where first the Reader may observe you alter the word

Church of God instead of Church of God; and then you adde
 strength. The alteration (I suppose) you make upon this ground,
 that in the reading of it should bear that truth; how the visible
 Church of God is taken for more than one particular congregation:
 that they live amongst; to make it a fitting ground for Churches
 to stand; whereas the Apostle speaks of the Church of God generally,
 whether we live amongst them or farre from them; and
 that of the Apostle in this place, is upon the occasion of that particular
 Church which he writes to some *Corinthians*, from eating meat sacrificed to
 idols. Heen told that this is sacrificed to idols, to lay downe a generall
 rule of Christians against giving offence to any; whether Jewes, Gen-
 tiles, Christians (under which does stand all men then in those times
 comprehended;) Now pray tell me how will you make this text
 mean, that Churches offending and differing among themselves,
 should themselves be to the most full and open trial and exami-
 nation other neighbour Churches offended? and how will you from
 this draw out a power for neighbour Churches to send unto and re-
 ceive of the Churches who have offended them, this Scripture (If all
 men understand it that I have consulted with) layes downe a rule,
 that particular Christians, and such Christian men for wike as to be
 acceptable to all men, to please all men in all things lawfull, as the 33.
 verse teach, and to give none offence; But where doth this Scripture
 say how doth it affirme, that if either Churches or particular Chris-
 tians doe things that do offend other Churches, they who are offen-
 ded have power and authority to send to them, and to call them to the
 most open trial and examination, and that such who are challeng-
 ed should submit to such a judicall and open trial before all
 men? In this text there is no more said of the Church of God then of
 Jewes and Gentiles, who must not be offended neither, and will you al-
 low Jewes and Gentiles offended by things done in your Churches, to call
 you to their account, and you must submit: This text reaches to
 that that live in other Countries, and unto particular Christians, though
 not members of any such instituted Church as you speak of, so that
 if we direct we ought not to give them no offence; but will you grant
 that Churches in other Countries and Kingdomes may call Churches in mo-
 re places to an open trial and examination, and send their mes-
 sengers to them, and thereupon pronounce sentence of renouncing
 communion with them, or that every particular man offended
 should call them to an account, and they are bound to submit to hearing

and triall? I will give you one instance; I am much offended at the great rent and difference that was betwixt Master Bridge and Master Symonds, at Master Symonds setting up a new Church, and at all that great difference betwixt those Churches; and I am much offended at the Church of Arnhem, for letting passe that schisme and all those differences, never questioning it, especially questioning Master Bridges Church: Now have I power by vertue of this precept, to call both you and your Churches to account, and to require of you a most full and open tryal before all communitie, and are you bound to submit to it? answer me this question in your Reply, and you shall see what I will say to you in my Rejoynder. For that same Scripture, *1 Tim. 5. 22. Neither be partakers of other mens finnes*, this is spoken to Timothy in regard of his authoritative power in the Church of God, as the scope of the chapter, and the immediate precedent words shew, (which is not your case denying authoritative power;) but if you say this text is meant secondarily of all Churches and Christians, though they have not authoritative power; I grant it, but then it is in wayes hinder which the word of God gives warrant and allowance for; as in reproving, mourning for the sinne, &c. which must be shewn in some other Scripture. For else the Presbyterians may pretend by vertue of this text, that they ought not to be partaker of other mens finnes; that they may censure, depose, excommunicate members of other Churches who are found to be on in sin, better then you can draw from this text, that you may call not only particular members, but whole Churches to an account, examine them, and pronounce that heaveie sentence of non-communication against them. But in a word brethren let me tell you, if such generall texts as these, that may be applied to any course and way conceived by men in their own braines, to hinder sin and reduce from offences, will serve turn for Church government, and for remedies to reduce Churches, then we can give you besides your owne two texts quoted here for your principle of submission of Churches and non-communication, many other such and more probable too, for the authoritative power of Presbyteries and Synode, as that *1 Cor. 14. 22. And the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets*; but we are not so hard put to it, there being particular instances and examples (if the nature of an Answer to such a Narration would permit me to insist at large, that prove the points in difference, namely of acts of power exercised by Churches in common, as in elections, determinations, and propositions upon differences and controversies, as *Acts 15. 2. 4. 6. 7. 13. 23. 24. 28. 29. Acts 16. 4. 5. 2 Corinb. 8. 18. 19.* But let the indifferent Reader judge by this which hath been said, whether the Reformed Church

Independent practise most safely, there being a ground as your
 self for the sentence of excommunication, such a sentence you ac-
 cuse particular Churches, and practise it, and such a sentence hath
 been used and past upon members of Churches, by those who were not
 of those Churches, as the Scriptures are clear for it, 1 Tim. 1. 20;
 on the other hand it is not granted, that the Scriptures give any
 ground for pronouncing the sentence of non-communication against whole
 Churches, or do allow any such practise of declarations and protestations
 against Churches against whole Churches, this I utterly deny; and your
 self prove them not; and I wonder how you dare call it the command
 of Christ, and the way of Christ, as you do in page 18, 19. And Brethren,
 since the Scriptures give neither precept nor example for your way
 of non-communication, consider whether the Scriptures give not grounds ra-
 ther contrary, namely against a particular Churches withdrawing
 themselves from all Christian communion with whole Churches upon an er-
 ror or carriage, for let me aske you, may not such a Church or Churches
 continue in their offences upon mistakes
 of fact, and notwithstanding all the light a particular Church can
 have, unsatisfied? now if a particular man may not separate nor
 withdraw from Christian communion from a true Church, though upon his
 own advice she redresse not, but 'tis a schisme, then for one Church
 to withdraw and advise given to more Churches (though not taken) to se-
 parate from many Churches by pronouncing that heavey sentence of
 excommunication and renouncing all Christian communion cannot be justified;
 nor renounce nor cast off Churches for many things amiss, though
 their counsell they were not mended, (as appears in the Church of Co-
 rinthians, who had been twice admonished, 2 Cor. 13. 1, 2. and yet repented not,
 yet Paul doth it the third time, and yet refusing Pauls counsell and pow-
 er, which is infallible and authoritative, deserved more the sentence of non-
 communication, then the often rejecting the counsell and power of any parti-
 cular Church can do. But I will answer you in your owne language, that
 the Scriptures give no ground for such a practise, and undoubted principles, and supreme lawes of submission of
 Churches, and of the power of Churches offended to pronounce the heavey
 sentence of non-communication against the Churches offending, and of De-
 clarations and Protestations to all other Churches of Christ that they might
 know, with your owne practise exprest in the 20. and 21. page, are to
 be taken as a command, and judged to be an additament, which therefore rests on
 the sentence of excommunication, to make evident and de-
 clare the sentence of non-communication, Protestations, Declarations, &c. And
 thus

thus it often falls out whilst men will oppose that which hath long been received in the Church of God upon pretence of the want of better grounds, and bring in new wayes, they practise novelties upon less ground and foundation from Scriptures then they rejected the old (as is to be seen in this instance.) If so be that you will not be so ready to do this.

2. As these principles of yours have no footing in Scripture, so it will appear they are no sufficient remedies for miscarriages and evils, which fall out in particular Churches by reason of their complaint and endeavours within themselves: first, because there are more acts of power than your principle of submission of Churches and the instances you give upon them unto, so that granting all you say of it, yet it would but reach to the particular case, or some such like cases, but would be no way sufficient either for preventing or remedying other evils and mischiefs which do and will arise upon a congregational government thus ensue within itself: so that here lies the fallacy in the question between you and the Reformed Churches in point of government, you speak to some points of government but not to all, and instead of laying down principles that should answer these, they only leave hit to some, and so your principles that should be *secundum quid*: For in the government of the Church there are many other acts of power, as of making and ordaining Ministers, of raising in Members, of agreeing upon a government, doctrine, discipline, &c. which this full compleat entire power of particular congregations takes upon them to do, of which many great mischiefs do arise and are the errors in the first concoction, which your principle of submission of Churches teacheth not unto, nor doth not help. But secondly, besides the principle of submission of Churches that miscarry unto the other Churches offended, with that practise of Churches finally offended to denounce sentence of non-communication, doth not answer the case alledged in heresies, schism, or persons injured, nor is not a sufficient remedy, like that of combination of Elders, and for the making good of that I shall mention the way, and course prescribed by you, in your principles here laid down, submission, Non-communication, Declarations and Protestations; and thus as coming out in such a juncture of time, wherein the strife is between the byterial government and Independent for preeminence, and coming to so many heads laid together, it cannot be imagined, but that it should come forth doubly refined, and in the most plausible advantageous way, and the best edition that is possible such wits, and so many could see it (as *Propter* indeed rather than what it can be in common practise) (thus in the third Edition, the first than of the Brownists, the second of the

now this the third) yet the Reader may observe into what un-
 labyrinthine, redioutnesse, delays, nay absurdities and contra-
 dictories principles do leade them that follow them. *about and how many*
 In Presbyteriall government each part and every particular
 of the whole and in common, the lesse by the greater, in your way
 each part must take upon them cognizance and call to an account an
 the only so, but suppose two or three Churches fall out and have
 among themselves, and there be but one Church free, who yet
 as the others, then one must order two or three, the lesse the great-
 er a rule is this.
 The principle of subinjection being voluntary amongst the Churches, we
 suppose sometimes the Churches challenged to offend or differ
 and sometimes they will not, or at least not yet, and when they
 themselves faulty, they may pretend many things to put it off and to
 (which time will be both very prejudiciall to the persons
 and to the spreading of the heresie and schisme) and if by delays
 they cannot have their ends, what if for all their principle of sub-
 they fly off, and refuse to yeeld to such a full and open trial be-
 fore witnesses, and shall deny other Churches that power of examining,
 &c. upon pretence of conscience, that there is no pri-
 vilege for it (as you do deny the power of determination and im-
 how will you bring them to it, whereas in Presbyteriall govern-
 ment of meeting being first, and agreed upon, men cannot evade, but
 will be quickly heard and remedied.
 In reason and by experience amongst wise men it is held a vaine
 in no publike company of men will yeeld to (but such practices
 are accounted ridiculous) to raise such dust and make such a do to call
 to depose Witnesses, spending many dayes in a judicary
 have no power to end things, to be never the nearer, but that
 may do neverthelesse what they please, so it cannot be concei-
 ved how God hath ordered in the Government of his Churches
 a way for Churches who are of a publike capacite, and have a
 (as you grant) to call Churches thus to an account, &c. and yet
 to be done to the offenders: Churches offended either have not
 thus much as you grant, or else they have a greater power,
 in bringing about the ends, which these meanes tend unto, namely de-
 cision, the righting persons injured, and the censuring the
 offenders: But it will be said by you, that if the Churches offending
 take:

take not the counsell and advice of their sister Churches about them, but
 sist in their error and miscarriage, that censure of the *sentences of Excommu-
 nion* will be a sufficient remedie and an effectuall meane to remove them,
 and remedy all, as well as that of the Presbyterians. I will not here
 into comparison between these two, but do reserve it to its proper place
 fifth and last generall head: (though besides Excommunication there are
 other things in the Classicall Synodicall way both to preserve and reforme
 Churches) which are not in the Independent way. But I answer this
 likely meane nor way, for which I shall give these following reasons. 1. One
 Church may not be able to convince another of their error or crill, much
 lesse one Church two or three Churches offending and differing. 2. The
 Church offending may stand upon it, that what they do is according to their
 light, it is according to their conscience to hold such an opinion, or do
 such a fact, as to depose their Minister, because he hath no bene-
 preaching, and whether may another Church passe the sentence of Ex-
 communion against whole Churches, and declare and protest this to o-
 ther Churches of Christ that they may do the like for opinions or practices
 that are not against the Churches known light? For if no other Church
 times then may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the
 known light may be the subject of excommunication in particular persons,
 may they be the subject of Non-communication of whole Churches? Is
 son this seemes not a powerfull meane or probable way, for if one
 Church offended shall renounce the Churches challenged to offend, they
 may and will renounce that Church also, passing the sentence of Non-
 communion, &c. against that, and how shall the matter now be healed and re-
 medied. 4. That Church or Churches thus sentenced (may be) cause
 for the Communion of this Church that cast them off, not of so others
 as long as they can have communion amongst themselves; These kind
 Churches that hold such principles of entire compleate power within
 selves, with that principle of sufficiency of all gifts, and all ordinances with
 in themselves, will go on in their errors and sinfull practise, for all that
 5. The Churches renounced and cast out may challenge the Churches cast-
 ing them out for injuring of them, and there upon both Churches may de-
 clare and protest against each other to all other Churches of Christ, which
 will prove as great a rent-difference, nay worse then the first, and this
 produce a great deal of defending and proving; for if the Churches on one
 sides do declare against one another unto the other Churches, which of
 now shall be belceved, and what if the Churches protested and declared
 to, will not upon the Protections withdraw and renounce all Churches

with them, must they then protest against them also, and what Churches protesting may account matter of Non-communication, other Churches declared and protested unto may not judge so, so that here will be matter of difference and divisions in the Church of God then begun. I suppose you would not have those Churches declared and protested unto to condemne the rest sentenced without a hearing (especially where is but one to one, or where one may declare and protest against another) so that then there must be sending for all these Churches, and appointing for the Churches protested unto, to hear the Churches on both sides, and what now if the Churches declared unto upon the hearing of the Churches on both sides, both censuring and censured, shall acquit the Churches condemned and censured, and shall condemne and judge those Churches for renouncing communion as too severe and declaring thus to the Churches against them: what must be done in these cases? Will the Churches censuring now acknowledge their offence, and revoke their sentence of Non-communication, or if they will not, what must these Churches sentenced unto do in this case? must not they passe the sentence of Non-communication against them? and if they do so, what if these Churches censured also pronounce the heavey sentence of Non-communication even against the Churches protested and declared unto? Now that these things may not and will not fall out cannot be denied, which things as amongst neighbour Churches among themselves will be great occasion of continual differences, so will they minister matter of great trouble to all other Churches, and of triumph and evil speaking unto one another which will be easily prevented and remedied in the Presbyterianall manner. Sixthly, Two or three Churches or more of your Independent way living amongst other Churches, (as you did in *Holland*) or if congregations should be tolerated in *England* according to your desire may hold this principle of submission to one another, and yet all acknowledging some errors, with which errors you may infect many of the members of the Presbyterianall Churches, for which you will not question remedy, what remedy or meanes is there now to reduce your Churches to our ours? Seventhly, Some of your Churches by vertue of their principle, that Church, or Churches challenged to offend or differ, challenge themselves upon the challenge of the offence to the most full and free trial and examination by other neighbour Churches: maybe some of them unjustly calling upon some of the Churches to submit, and charging them first with being offended by them, least themselves should be charged to have offended, and so (as we speak) call whore first,

and also they who are challenged to offend, to be even with them, will challenge them againe, and what must be done in this case, and who shall propose to determine these differences, or may both parties judge thereby each other to be offenders, determine against one another. Eighthly, If Churches must thus submit to trialls and examinations, these being the acts of whole Churches, here will be nothing but trialls and examinations and censures one upon another, and this instead of a sufficient remedy is like to prove a continuall vexation and molestation to neighbour Churches. Ninthly, What must be done in case one Church or more take offence unjustly at others, and trouble them thus to call them to open examination, &c. what satisfaction must be given to the Church troubled and examined. Tenthly, In this principle of submission of Churches, suppose that upon a hearing, the Church offending will not redresse the grievance or relieve a person injured: But goe on, and slight communion with other Churches, the persons injured in the meane time are debarred from the ordinances, and cannot remove their dwellings without manifest ruine of their families, how doth this help such persons injured, or is sufficient remedy for wrongfull sentences, &c. Whereas now in the Presbyterian way if such a Minister or Officers who are the cause of this may be deposed, and acts passe against them, and others placed in their room, this will remedy and redresse it: And so suppose a Minister of one fall in to heresie and errour, and draw the most of his people after him, so that he cannot be deposed by the Church, what good will the Non-communication pronounced against this Church by other Churches do for reducing them, but now if this Minister may be deposed, and an orthodox Minister sent in to preach the truth, here is a powerfull meanes to reduce and reform. Eleventhly, Let me aske you, and pray determine it from the Scriptures, in case two or three Churches offended do challenge a Church or Churches offending, who yet upon submitting to a hearing will not yeeld to the counsell and advice of those Churches, who? how? where? after what time, and how many meetings? and after what manner must this sentence of Non-communication be denounced against this Church or Churches? whether must it be denounced in and upon the place where they meet to hear and examine? or in the meeting place of each of these Churches offended? or must these Churches offended meet in one of their meeting places to pronounce it together? and who must be the mouth? and who by warrant out of the Scriptures hath the power to pronounce that heauey sentence of Non-communication? and how must it be made known unto the offending Churches, with other things of this like nature? To say no more

of Non-communication is so farre from being a sufficient remedy
 for wronges, or a relief for wrongfull sentences, or a powerfull meanes
 to reforme a Church or Churches, &c. that tis a remedy worse then the dis-
 ease, and if it should be practised would be the ground of many schismes,
 divisions, mischiefes in the Church of God and amongst whole Chur-
 ches, so that it were farre better particular persons should suffer wrong,
 then particular persons fall into schisme and be left to their liberty, then
 the Churches suffer those evils which your principles of Non-communi-
 cations, Protestations would undoubtedly produce (as the Reader
 may judge by what is here writen.) For the second, your practise accord-
 ing to this principle, occasioned upon an offence that fell out in your
 Church, I shall shew that as insufficient as your principles, and shall an-
 swer upon the most solemn instances of your practise: As for the Intro-
 duction to your relation of the scandall and offence, I readily assent unto
 you, but you not judged it for the advantage of your selves and way, you
 upon no other occasion have made it thus publike: for you are good at
 naming of all your principles and practises, but when and where you may
 defend and propagate your way; For the story it self (as it is related by
 you) is very short and generally neither expressing the Ministers name
 nor the causes of his deposition, nor the first occasion of the differ-
 ence, nor the way the Church took before they deposed him, nor the man-
 ner how they proceeded, nor how long he stood so deposed; so that the
 Reader cannot well tell what to make of it for want of a more full par-
 ticular relation, or how to judge whether your principle of submission of
 Churches, and your practise here laid down upon it was so proper, and so
 effectuall a remedie, and so effectuall a course as you boast of in page 20, 21.
 Therefore of necessitie in reference to the disproving and weakning
 what you would inferre from your sacred principle and supream law of
 submission, and the more solemn instance of your practise wherewith to win-
 neth your selves and way in this particular; and that it may appear it was
 not a slight, late and partiall remedy to the offences and scandall, relate
 the story more at large, and then make some queries upon it, and your so-
 lemn practise thereupon, and then I shall leave it to the Reader to judge
 whether your principle of submission be comparable to the way of the com-
 mon Classicall Presbyteriall government. The Church in which this of-
 fence fell out was at Rotterdam, of which Master Bridge and Master Ward of
 Rotterdam, old loving friends; and both sying upon the same cause, Bishop
 and Ministers, were the Ministers; and the Minister deposed by the
 Church was Master Ward, who for appearing and siding against Master

Bridge in some particulars, and for his preaching of Sermons in the Church at *Rotterdam*, which he had preached before in his Church at *Norwich*, and for his giving too much heed to the reports of simple people and old wives tales, was thus deposed; but I cannot so fully cause the Reader to understand matters without relating the first difference between Master *Bridge* and Master *Sympson*; the true ground and rise of this latter offence. Master *Sympson* one of the Authors of this *Apologeticall Narration*, after some time of beholding the order and way of this Church at *Rotterdam*, desired to be admitted a Member, and was upon his confession, &c. received in, but not long after (what were the true reasons he best knowes) he disliked some persons and things in that Church, and he stood for the ordinance of Propheying to be exercised in that Church, that the people on the Lords day should have liberty after the Sermons ended, to put doubts and questions to the Ministers, &c. and he was troubled at a ruling Elder in that Church, brought in by Master *Bridge* (which belike had more power and bore more sway then himself) who as Master *Sympson* in a Letter to a Minister in *London*, complaining of the difference between him and Master *Bridge*, writ how that Elder was in that Church over all persons and over all causes, but Master *Bridge* opposed Master *Sympsons* prophesying upon some small grounds of inconveniencies (as himself told me the story, which were too long too relate,) yet he yeilded so farre that the Church should meet on a week day, and then they should have that liberty, but this would no way satisfie Master *Sympson*, whereupon the difference increased and there were sidings, but Master *Bridges* power was the greater to carrie things in the Church, and so Master *Sympson* would abide no longer, but quitted that Church, (though he had no Letters of dismission from that Church) and with the help of a woman (whom Master *Bridge* called, telling me the story of things between them, the foundresse of Master *Sympsons* Church) set up a Church against a Church, consisting but of five persons at the most in the beginning, whereof the woman and her husband were two, but this Church of Master *Sympsons* increased, as being extolled for a purer Church and for more Ordinances, but Master *Bridges* Church was cried down for old rotten Members, and for the want of prophecie, and so the fire of contention and difference grew more and more between Master *Bridge* and Master *Sympson*, and their Churches: Now Master *Ward*, Master *Bridges* colleague sided with Master *Sympson*, stood for prophesying, and though Master *Sympson* had left that Church, yet Master *Ward* in that Church was for Master *Sympsons* way; whereupon by occasion of that and for exercising his gifts no better, but to preach his old Sermons he had formerly preached

and beleevving of tales, giving so much way to reports, he was
 by that Church: Amongst seventeen or eighteen Reasons of
Wards deposition, a godly learned Minister who had seen them in
 told me these were the most materiall: And now upon Master
 rending from the Church, and setting up a Church against a
 under Master *Bridges* nose, and upon Master *Wards* deposition from
 Ministry, and Master *Symphons* Church increasing in fame and number,
 Master *Bridges* decreasing and some others rending themselves away,
 wicked reports raised about Master *Bridge*, there grew that bit-
 ter, evill speakings, deep censurings, deadly feuds amongst these Mi-
 nisters and their Churches, as never was more betwixt the *Jewes* and the *Sa-*
maritans: Master *Bridge* confessed to me, there were no such sharpe
 nor bitter divisions as these: Letters from all three were sent in-
 to both into City and Country against each other, Master *Symp-*
 sent many Letters into *England* against Master *Bridge*, as to Master
B. Master *H.* Master *R.* &c. and Master *Bridge* against
Symptom. Master *Bridge* and Master *Ward* writ many Letters one
 to the other, particularly to *Normich*, and among other, many sharpe
 letters sent to a Doctor of Physick about the differences, and upon
 coming over into *England*, they told sad stories for themselves, and
 against other: Mistris *Bridge* laid these bitter differences and reports
 down, that they were a great meanes of her death, and whether Master
 weaknesse and distempers were not occasioned by the divisions
 and wicked scandalls unjustly (I beleevve) raised upon him as well as by
 of *Ravensdam*, Master *Bridge* knowes best. And thus much for the
 relation of the scandall and offence that fell out in that Church
 of *Ravensdam*, as it hath been related to me from good hands, from some
 who have lived in *Holland*, and as I had part of it from Master *Bridges* own
 mouth, and some of it from Letters of Master *Symphons* written into *En-*
gland, and from other men of credit who have seen Letters and relations
 from thence: Now from the relation of this story and your pra-
 ctice upon it, I shall propound these queries, which will give some light to
 whether there was any sufficiency in your course, to remedy and re-
 move things amisse in Churches, and betwixt persons offending.
 Whether your Churches did agree upon and tie your selves to this
 of submission, and the sentence of Non-communication at your
 first coming up and coming into that place of exile, or did you first acknow-
 ledge, and were willing to submit upon the occasion of the scandall of
 Master:

Master *Ward* deposing, and that great clamour upon it both in *Holland* and *England*?

Secondly, Whether did you then, or do you now acknowledge the principle of submission to all other neighbour Churches, as well as to them of your own way, as namely to the Presbyterian Churches, those *English* Churches at *Amsterdam*, *Hague*, *Utrecht*, &c. and would you have submitted to those Churches to have so proceeded upon offences and differences amongst you?

Thirdly, How long was it, was it not for the space of between a year and two that Master *Ward* stood deposed and laid aside from his Ministry and maintenance, before he was restored, and if so, was not this a late remedy, and is it so in Presbyterianall government.

Fourthly, When, and at what time was this principle of submission and your solemn practise both of requiring the Church offending to give an account, with their chearfull submitting and restoring Master *Ward* agreed upon? was it not upon the newes of the Parliament, and the probability of the revolution of things? And I propound this question, because Master *Burroughs* who came in Master *Ward*'s place after his deposition, came back to *England*, but at the beginning of the Parliament, and till he came or was resolved to come, it is not probable Master *Ward* was restored, and if so, that it was done when all was like to breake up, and they to come for *England*, may we not suspect it was done for an instance to vindicate your way with, and to serve your turne, as in this *Apologie*, rather then from any necessity of righting a person injured, or correcting a Church offending.

Fifthly, Why did not the Church of *Arnhem* take offence at Master *Symptoms* Church, and at his schisme in setting up another Church, and at all that bitterness, evill speaking between those two Churches (the ground indeed and foundation of that unhappie businesse about Master *Ward*, and of all the evill committed therein) and accordingly have required Master *Symptoms* Church to have submitted, but here is not a hint of this in all the relation of your practise, I have a Letter out of *Holland* by one that concerning this businesse writes thus, 'That though Master *Symptoms* with some few more rent themselves from Master *Bridges* Church, with great offence thereof, yet Master *Goodwin* and his associates when they came to hear the businesse about Master *Ward*, never questioned that schisme, nor meant to sever from the same Church. Now if it were so, was not this a partiall remedy, not reaching to all the offence, nor to the bottom of it, why did you not summon both these Churches in the matter of busi-

reference to submit as well as one of the Churches? will not your
 serve in difference between Churches, as for difference in one
 or was it that there was no complaint of neither side? or was it
 you are tender of questioning the multiplication of Churches?
 by separation and schisme) Or what was the reason you question-
 that?

Fourthly, Whether were the other Churches of our Nation or any of
 (who could not but be offended) as them of *Amsterdam*, *Hague*,
London, *Delft*, call'd in by *Arnhem*, or by the Church at *Rotter-*
 some in the hearing, trying of that businesse, and deposing Wit-
 did they send Messengers, or was it only agitated by two Ministers
 Messengers of the Church of *Arnhem*, one Church only, *Arnhem*
Amsterdam, one to one, both equall? and whether there can be the like
 and solemnity of a meeting where they are equall, nay an inferior-
 as much as a representative Church consisting of foure is below a
 represented,) as in a Presbyteriall Assemblie? I have a Letter from
 me, wherein a godly Minister writes thus, *'I was desired by*
ward to be present at that meeting, but when the time came, neither
nor other English Ministers but they of Arnhem were called.

Fifthly, To what or to how much did your practise (who were the
 offended) amount unto upon Master *Bridges* Church submission;
 full hearing and finding both sides to be in an error? did you in-
 draw up an order, that the Church offending should publicly ac-
 knowledge their sinfull aberration before you and the commons of all
 and restore their Minister againe? and that they should keep a fo-
 of fasting to humble themselves for their sinfull carriage? and
 Minister deposed should acknowledge to the Church wherein hee
 sinned? or did you leave them to themselves, upon your find-
 cleave, to do what they thought fitting, both Church and Minister,
 against your principles for one Church to decree and impose any
 on another, and so they took up this way voluntarily, would you
 speak out, and once tell us plainly what you hold, and what you
 that so the Reader might judge of the effectualnesse of your

Sixthly, Aske of you whether Master *Bridges* with the offending
Amsterdam did sit as Judges with them of *Arnhem*, in their own
 examine, depose, &c. or else stood by as delinquents, to be char-

Ninthly, I desire to know of you, whether Mr *Ward* after he was removed, did as formerly officiate in that Church, and how long? and whether Master *Bridge* and he continued there as fellow Ministers? and whether both between them two, and between the Church and Master *Ward*, there was that mutuall carriage as before, and ought to be between fellow Ministers, and Ministers and people?

Tenthly, How can a Church representative be a sufficient and allowed remedy to take up great offences in a Church at a great distance? and whether this implies not an implicit faith in the represented, to let the representatives upon hearing put a final determination and conclusion to great offences and differences without returning back the business to the Church represented, or so much as ever acquainting them with the business before all was ended, (as was in this particular case) and whether * Master *Robinson*

* *Robins.* Justif of separat. *Robins.* Catech. A representative Church in a case of faith and conscience without the consent of the represented in the particular decree, establisheth the Popish doctrine of implicit faith.

arguments against the Presbyterians about the power of their Elders be not strong against your principles and practices here related? and what ground is there from the Scripture, that some men of another Church should have

power to call unto and insist upon a judiciary charge against them who were greater then themselves, namely against a whole Church consisting of Officers and people.

II. Suppose the Church of *Arnheim* (who sent two Ministers and two Gentlemen as Messengers of their Church, upon their returne back to the Church and giving an account of all the proceedings, and issue of that business) had disliked the determinations, and judged some of the proceedings unjust, others unsatisfactory, and not according to the rules of the word (as the Church of *Arnheim* might well have done, there being just ground for it, as I will shew in the second particular under the next head.) What must have been done in this case? must the Messengers themselves have been now questioned by the Church for managing matters no better? or must the sentences agreed upon both for the Church and Master *Ward* be reversed? or must other Messengers be sent to hear matters againe, and change, or adde what was amisse? and what if the Church would not alter that which upon so full a hearing and triall was agreed upon? now I aske of you, and appeale to the Reader, considering that the Churches themselves may probably (and it cannot but be expected) differ and vary in their judgements from their Messengers about the determinations.

ences and differences; whether this be a likely meanes and sufficient to end all strifes, or rather will not be as the beginning of new and an occasion of endlesse contentions.

In this way of submission of Churches, and your practises upon occasions and differences, what if the Messengers of the Churches upon examining differ among themselves about the differences and offences in the Church offending, and about the sentences to be agreed upon to be presented to the offending parties? yea and what if the Churches themselves returne made by the Messengers how they find matters, differ altogether, the Churches offended being of one mind, and the other Church of another mind, what remedy is there now for miscarriages? what for a person injured? or what effectuall and powerfull meanes to a Church or Churches?

In your sentence of Non-communication against Churches, and in your Declarations and Protestations to all other Churches of Christ that they be like like; what shall become of those innocent godly persons in that Church denounced and protested against, must they be renounced communion? what will you do in the case where some in a Church may be free from the errors and evils which the greater number are guilty of (which is the Church,) must they be debarr'd of all Christian communion with the Church offended, and all other Churches of Christ protested to? must nothing here in this case, nor take no care for them, but wrap up in your sentence of Non-communication; must the innocent parties now in that Church offending separate and withdraw from their own Church, and lose communion too, as well as the Church offended? what if all their substance and livelihood depends in living in that place, so that if they depart from them, they must either live without publike Ordinances and Sacraments, or else if they come away, ruine themselves and families? what if this Church offending the wife be one of the innocent persons in that Church, but the husband of the number of them that persist in their error and sin? the sonne and daughter among the innocent, the fathers and mothers among the offenders? what must the wives and children receive in communion with their husbands and parents, and now either live without the Ordinances there, or else goe away from their husbands and parents to some other Churches? And in your drawing up your Declarations and Protestations against those Churches persisting in their erroneous and mis-practises, will you in the grosse do it, or will you signifie and declare all the names of those who remaine obstinate and impenitent in such Churches, with the names of those who are free from those errors and offences, least you

should bring all the Churches of Christ protested unto into sinne and a curse: I pray resolve these cases with many such (which by these now hinted) you may fore-see will fall out in your principle of Non-communion of Churches and Protestations.

Thirdly, For the successe and effectualnesse of your practise, I answer. 1. Supposing the particular instance of your practise, according to the principle of submission of Churches that miscarry, to have had a good effect (as you relate in your two Churches of *Arnhem* and *Rotterdam*) yet it follows not, it is a powerfull and effectuall meanes to reduce Churches; for a Church may prevaile in one and take with one, and yet have no rationality to come in others, for though this Church at *Rotterdam* did submit to them of *Arnhem* who were of note for parts, quality, &c. yet it is a question whether that would to some other particular Churches who had challenged them, and whether these men would also at all times, had there not been something odd in the ballance before hinted.

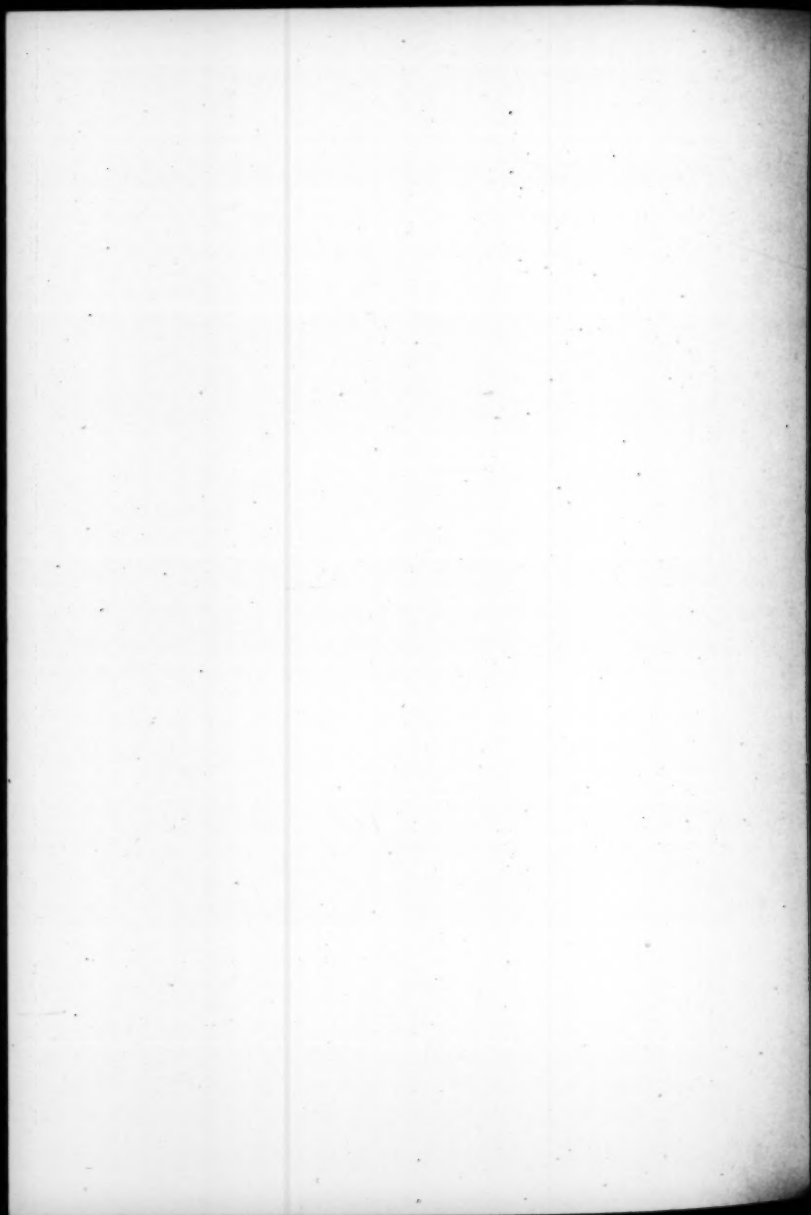
2. Take the best that came of the issue and successe of this agitation between the Church of *Arnhem* and that of *Rotterdam* (namely that Church which had offended, acknowledging their offence in deposing Mr *Wool* and restoring him to his place againe) it was but a slender satisfaction for the loss of his Ministry and maintenance for so long a time, and for all the suffering of him and his family: If the Church offending had been enjoyed, or had ordered themselves to have paid him the profits of his place, or to have given him a good summe of money on their Fast day, this had been some relief for a wrongfull sentence, and a person injured thereby, and might have been a meanes to have preserved them from doing the like for time to come, but for a Minister and his family to be so long in a sad condition without all maintenance in a strange Land, and in the issue for them who did this to acknowledge only their sinfull aberration, and the Minister thus suffering to acknowledge his sin too, and both of them to be humbled for it alike; here was a good remedy, nay as you relate it your selves it is very unjust and injurious, for in some passages of your Narration, you acknowledge the fault on the Church side, as in page 16. and in page 20. and that Mr *Wool* was wronged, and yet they were both equally ordered to a publike confession of sin and solemn fasting, the Delinquent and the Innocent alike dealt with, is this the fruit of your principle of submission of Churches and Non-communion? is this the reall evidence and demonstration of the effectuall successe of such a course held by Churches in such a case? and was this the issue of all that sending to and solemn assembly, and the agitation of so many daies, publike hearing and deposition of witnesses, so largely and formally related in page 20, 21? I would

(as you pretend to be) should not see into the weakness and folly of your practise in this case, but tell such a story so to shame your selves, and never have troubled your selves to have come so many Dutch millers, Church at Rotterdam, not made so great ado for many dayes of deposition, &c. (as you your selves relate in page 20, 21.) to have put together Innocent and Delinquents. And let me here put you this dilemma, Was *Mr Ward* unjustly depofed from his Ministry, both materially and upon insufficient caufes, as the matter for fuch a cenfure, and for the manner of it, as being too fuddaine before admonition, and before prayer preceding, &c. or he was juftly depofed by the Church? If in both thefe refpects (as your Narration implies, page 16.) why was he put upon acknowledging his fin to the Church, and put in the fame ftation with them who had dealt fo unjustly both materially and formally? If this was not a meanes to hinder the Churches repentance and humiliation for their fin, when they fhould be put but to do as *Mr Ward*? But if he were juftly depofed, why was the Church then put upon publike acknowledgement, and ordered a folemne day of fafting to humble themfelves for the deed and man? and whether was *M. Bridge* as well as the Church injoyning his finfull aberration in it in that he did not interpoze his authoritie in the Church, nor fpeak a word to hinder the depofing of *Mr Ward* fo to have prevented fo great a fcandall and offence as this was? In the fifth and laft generall head, the comparifon you make between the effectual and powerfullneffe of your way of fubmiffion and non-communication, and of the Presbyterians, to awe and preferve Churches and Elders in their fide rather. I answer, Befides fome confiderable things already hinted in fome of the former heads (efpecially under the fourth head) which do fhew the difference of the effectualnes and fucceffe which the Presbyterian way hold out over your Congregationall, there are many other weighty fcales, which I fhall now fpeak of according as 'tis laid down here in the 17, 18, and 19 pages. And as *Mr Ward* is well known (as you fay) that you may render your way the more fpecious and probable, you beg the queftion, and take for granted things denied, fupposing that alfo which never hath fallen out in the reformed Churches, and you fpeak but to a part of the remedy, (namely excommunication) and from all thefe falfe premiffes you draw your conclufion: You lay down your way of fubmiffion and non-communication as that which is the command and way of Chrift, and to be ftrictly enjoyed by Churches, and that it is a command from Chrift enjoyned to Churches that are finally of- fended, to pronounce fuch a fentence of non-communication; which is a meet device of your

your own brains, and found out to give a colourable answer to that common and true reason against the Church-way: you make that *authoritative power* *Presbyterian*, to be an *excommunicating of whole Churches*, and a *defining of whole Churches*, and their *Elders* *offending unto Satan*, (which is a scandalous charge laid on the Presbyterian government) and never yet was heard of in any of the Reformed Churches for the space now of a hundred years past: You say you give more to the Magistrates power than the principle of the Presbyterian government will suffer them to wield, whereas in some things shall shew the contrary, and in other things you may out of policie at the times give more than the Scriptures allow. You speak only of excommunication, a part of their way, whereas in combined Classicall government there are many other means and waies from first to last to preserve and reduce from errors and offences.

The comparison made by you between the Presbyterians and Independents stands in two things: First, In the Ecclesiasticall proceedings and power; Secondly, In the civil Magistrates power: 1. For the Ecclesiasticall you make that principle of *submission of Churches that miscarry*, and that of *non-communication as effectually as excommunication*, which supposing they were (as I shall shew they are not) yet in a fallacious reasoning by comparing the whole with a part, for a whole of one kind may be better and more effectual then some part of another kind, and yet not comparable to the whole; now there are many things in Presbyterian government besides excommunication, excellent to preserve and keep the Churches: Their reformation and constitution being settled by Synods and Assemblies, their Ministers being ordained by Presbyteries and Classes, their Doctrine, Worship, Government and Discipline upon serious debate; and by common consent drawn up, their rules being fixt, known and certaine, their Classicall meetings frequent and constant, with higher Assemblies for appeales, their numbers and abilities great, their remedies and censures more solemne, and more in number, as deposition, suspension, &c. all which are wanting in the Church-way (as I could shew at large, but that this answer would be too great a volume.) But to come to particulars, the Presbyterian is more effectual then your Independent way: 1. Because it doth prevent and preserve from those many errors, divisions, evils which fall out in your way (as is evident by experience) and is founded upon good reason will fall out) now how much better and more effectually away 'tis to play the fore-game then the after-game, all men know: 'tis better to prevent the plague and taking in poison then to expell it; government is for prevention as well as recovery. If your way were as effectually to compose differences and reduce Churches

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to prevent, which is one of the great ends of Church government. Your way wraps in whole Churches in sin and guilt, and you have no remedy but it must come to non-communication of whole Churches, but in Presbyterianism is not so, no example being extant among them of excommunicating whole Churches, so that if an error take one or two, they are presently dealt with, and the error spreads not to a whole Church. 3. In the Presbyterian way, the persons offending and sinning in Congregations are proceeded against and punished, every man bears his own sin, but the innocent persons suffer not; but here in the way of non-communication, some who are good in the Church suffer also many waies, and here is no difference made by you, all involved in the same condition. 4. In your way, as if all sins were equal and all offenders alike, all are punished with the same sentence of non-communication; but 'tis not so in the Presbyterian way. 5. Your submissions and meetings are accidentall, uncertain, free and at choice, they may be, and may not be, there are manie waies to evade and put them off; whereas the submissions and confociations of Churches are fixed, set, certain. Amongst our Churches in *Holland*, in three or foure yeares there was but one act of submission, and one meeting, which is here related: In that difference between those two Churches at *Rotterdam*, there was no submission, but each Church blew the Trumpet of defiance against the other; and so about the difference at *Arnhem* which the Church could not end in so long a time, no Church interposed; but in the classically government there is such a subordination and dependencie, such stated and fixed meetings, that if men should dispute, they do not all: now in government and order there is a material difference between what men may do, or not do, and what they have tyed themselves unto and must stand to: In matters of civill difference referred to moderators, 'tis one thing to submit to hearing, and to counsell upon it, and another thing to be bound to stand to the determination. There are many who will do justly, and performe such trusts whilest bound, who left at liberty will do just nothing; now in your submission of Churches, though you submit to a hearing, yet you do not submit to their determinations unlesse it like you, you do not submit to do what they enjoyn, but you will order your members according to their counsell (as you see occasion) now men being partiall in their own cause, and still their own judges, what a remedy is this? 'tis one thing when men know they are at liberty, and may do, or not do as they please, and another thing when they must; we find it so in all, converse with men, and good men are men, there's a great deale of difference between authority and obedience, and only perswasion on the one part, and free will on the other, no man will deny but in civill matters there is a great difference

in such cases; were it in the power of particular members in your Church to submit or not submit, as they please, there would be as much ado to remedy any thing, as will be betwixt Churches differing. But particularly for excommunication and non-communication, excommunication may upon the grounds awe mens consciences more, and be more effectually then non-communication; 1. Because there is something positive in it, it is a delivering of the offenders up unto Satan, but your non-communication is a privative depriving only of communion; now there's more efficacy in a positive then in a privative & negative. Secondly, Excommunication doth deprive the persons offending or the Churches of all communion among themselves as well as the communion of other Churches whereas the sentence of non-communication doth but take other Churches off from communion with them, but meddles not to debar them of communion among themselves in their own particular Churches, but still they enjoy the word, prayers, Sacraments, &c. which is a great difference. Thirdly, Your selves make excommunication the greater censure as appears by your own phrases, calling it an *authoritative power*, &c. and not practising that against other Churches, whereas you do exercise the sentence of non-communication, and we know 'tis the highest censure in the Church, now certainly the greatest censures and more dreadfull punishments according to Christs institution and intention, are more effectually and powerfully to awe and to remedy things amiss then the lesser and lower censures. And so much for the comparison in the Ecclesiasticall proceedings.

Secondly, In the civill Magistrates power you granting that ought to ban and assist the sentence of non-communication against Churches, miscarrying according to the nature of the crime, and you giving more (as you think) to the Magistrate power in matters Ecclesiasticall then the principles of the Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yeeld, your way of Church proceeding will be every way as effectual as the Presbyterians, I answer, supposing all that you say of giving so much power to the Magistrate, &c. were true, yet that makes not your submission and non-communication so effectually a means as excommunication, for the question is about Ecclesiasticall authority and spirituall power, and about spirituall means and remedies for the conscience and soule, and not about civill power, and civill externall means; and I would aske you this question upon this passage of the civill Magistrate, either you give him an Ecclesiasticall spirituall power of applying spirituall remedies and means to Churches miscarrying or you do not, if you give him not this first (as I judge your principles will not allow you) he being no Church-Officer of Christs Church, but only Christ gave Pastors, teachers, &c. as necessary and sufficient for the Government of his Church, then all you say of the Magistrate helps you not, 'tis nothing to the question in hand; but before I speak any more to that point, that the

Magistrate

... power backing your sentence of non-communion is not compa-
 ... to the Presbyterian way, I must animadvert upon the passage it self both
 ... comparative of your saying, *you think you give more to the Magistrate*
 ... *Presbyterians*, and upon the positive what you give them.
 ... For the comparison, 'tis an odious and dangerous insinuation to prepare
 ... and Parliament to reject the Presbyterie, as not giving so much to Magi-
 ... in matters of Religion and Church government as is their due, and 'tis
 ... against *Scotland* and all the Reformed Churches: But what's the
 ... of it, or what may be conceived the reason of your saying you give
 ... to the Magistrates power, and more then the Presbyterians, (seeing
 ... of your Church principles were never yet guilty of giving too much Ec-
 ... all power to Magistrates: you are the first Independents, and this is
 ... time that ever publicly you have exprest your selves thus,) I judge
 ... *Politicians (Politici Theologi)* to flatter the Parliament at this time,
 ... to work your ends for a toleration, and to promote your Church-
 ... write thus. 'Tis observed by Learned men, that amongst the princi-
 ... plements and policies of the Remonstrants wherby they laboured to bring
 ... Churches of the *Netherlands* into commotion, and to obtain their owne
 ... this was a great one, the crying up the power of the civill Magistrate,
 ... by writing of Books of their great power in Ecclesiasticall, and in their
 ... every where, and their aspersing the orthodox Ministers and their
 ... meetings and Ecclesiasticall actions with the contrary, and amongst
 ... other particulars of the great power they gave the Magistrates in Eccle-
 ... this was one, that they did ascribe to the Magistrate the ultimate and
 ... jurisdiction and power of giving judgment in Ecclesiasticall matters,
 ... that unto the Magistrate alone, immediatly under Christ did be-
 ... the judgment when controversies of faith did arise in the Church; And
 ... therefore after the Arminians despaired of prevailing by the Ecclesiasticall
 ... they brought and removed their cause from the Ecclesiasticall cog-
 ... to another Court, by their policies and artifices, making use of the
 ... of one or two chiefe men in place to work for them: And that this
 ... way might have some colour, and that so much the more easilie the fa-
 ... of manie Politicians, or at least a toleration might be procured for these
 ... Arminian novelties, there was a book set forth by *Ottobogardus, de Jure Su-
 ... Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis*; Manie other of the Arminians also sung
 ... the same long, as *Episcopus* printed a Disputation *de Jure Magistratus circa*
 ... *Barlaam, Grotius, &c.* And besides all these, there was a great number of
 ... put forth in the vulgar and mother tongue of the power and authori-
 ... of the Magistrates: And thus whilst the Magistrates let the Arminians a-

one and did nothing against them, even till the Synod of Dort in the year

^a Voet. select. Disput. de quaestione penes quos sit potestas Ecclesiastica. Thes. 1. 7. hes. 4. Thes. 5. Ne autem novum hic agendi modum colorem aliquem haberet, & tanto facilius multorum politicorum favor, aut saltem Tolerantia Remonstrantium novitatibus concideretur, editum est à Johanne Stentenbogaerde Ecclesiastico tunc Haga comesano tractatus de Jure supremi Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis. Editi fuerunt Grotii pietas ordinum, Episcopii disputatio de Jure Magistratus circa sacra, Earles declamatio seu Philippica quadam in ministros qui orthodoxam & receptam religionem tuebantur, &c. Praeter quae vulgares & vernaculi libelli, quorum numerus innumerus, & emissione Remonstrantium nihil aliud quam auctoritatem & potestatem magistratuum perstrangebant: & nescio qua invidia orthodoxos pastores, eorumque legitimos conventus & actiones Ecclesiasticas gravabant. Et haec quidem imprimis in dictis duobus provinciis; nam in Geldria aliter canebant, aut mussabant: quod ill. Curia connati- bus ipsorum minime favebat. Idem fere accidebat in Frisia. Amstelredami, atq; alibi, ubi magistratus omnia contra Presbyteria & pastores non solum ex nunt, aut in favorem Remonstrantium. Post habitam Synodum Dordracenam, libelli ipsorum vernaculi longe alio stilo conscripti sunt, quin & in ipsa Apologia (quam tamen magistratibus probari volebant) cap. 2. 5. potestatem hanc non parum limitant ac contrahunt, quam tamen tam liberaliter antehac admeserant.

^b Paderlin de Episcop. Constant. magni pag. 3, 4, 5, 6. Arminiani è contrario in excessu peccant. Etenim ante Synodum Dordracenam contendebant, sub magistratu orthodoxo Ecclesiam per se nullam habere potestatem spirituales: ministros Ecclesiae Officio suo defungi nomine magistratus, ita ut magistratus, quia ipse per alia negotia concionari, &c. non possit, per ministros doceat qui vices ipsius gerant in docendo, quemadmodum vicarius Trajani Imperatoris & ceteri gerent sui Imperatoris. Et sic ministros non habere suam potestatem à Christo, sed à Magistratu, qui & quidem solus eam potestatem immediate à Christo acceperit: Gubernationem Ecclesiae assignabant soli magistratui, ob ea excludentes ministros, nisi in quantum essent vicarii & instrumenta, seu servi magistratus: Specialim electionem ministrorum seu vocationem, ita depositum tribuebant soli magistratui, &c. Contendebant etiam ad solum magistratum immediate sub Christo pertinere iudicium quando controversia fidei orta sunt in Ecclesia. Post Synodum in Confess. & Apol. cap. 2. 5. negant ejus aut officium esse, ad decreta Synodica, ut verbo Divi conformia sint, observanda obligare homines sua auctoritate & potestate illa coarctati uti in ea parte, negant etiam magistratum sui habere in privatos conventus, sed tantum in exercitiis quae in templis seu locis publicis ad Magistratum pertinentibus insituntur. Nam cum verbum suum ita consilium putarent, aliter statuebant & contrarium, quemadmodum alibi à nobis est ostensum.

1618. they flattered themselves: But after the Synod of Dort had determined against their opinions, and that the Magistrates were against them, then they lifted up the heel and then they wrote books in a far other stile & in their Apologie, the power was before they had so liberally measured out for them, they did not a little limit, & contract, & offended as much in the defect, giving Magistrates too little as before they had in the excess, giving them too much: For the full proof of this, I referre the Reader to learned Voetii select disputations concerning that question penes quos sit potestas ecclesiastica, (where he doth at large relate the and their opinions about the Magistrates power after the Synod of Dort:) and unto Voetius de Episcopatu Constantini magni (who as men know gives in the booke power enough to Magistrates in Ecclesiasticals) yet he layes down at large, that as the

had

and *Socinians*, following the *Donatists*, give too little to the Magistrate, so the *Arminians* did offend in the excesse. For before the time of *Dort* they contended, that under the Orthodox Magistrate the Church had of it self no spirituall power. The Ministers of the Church did not exercise their office in the name of the Magistrate, so that the Magistrate, though he for other busineses could not preach, &c. he did preach by the Ministers; they gave the government of the Church to the Magistrates as they gave the calling of Ministers and their deposing to the Magistrate as they did, with many other such, but after the Synod they denie 'tis their right to oblige men by their authoritie to the decrees of Synods howsoever agreeable to the word, or to use anie coactive power in that case, &c. in which they take away as much from the Magistrate, as in other things they seeme to give: And it may be feared however these Apologists now to inquit themselves, and being let alone in their Church-way, say, they are more to the Magistrate then the *Presbyteriall*, and that they professe to be most willing to have recourse to the Magistrates judgement and cognizance, and examination of Ecclesiasticall causes, yet when they shall come once to be crossed, and the Parliament by the advise of the Church to settle the Government of the Church, and by their authoritie to bind them to the things agreeable to the word, we shall see then what they will say of the Magistrates power; there are too manie speeches already since the meeting of the Assembly (out of their feare how things might) which have fallen from manie Independents, that prognosticate they will doe by the Parliament as the Remonstrants did after the Synod of Dort by the States. 2. But whatever you say here, that you thinke you give more to the Magistrates then the principles of the *Presbyterian-Government* will suffer them to yeeld, I do much doubt it, and do judge that in manie things you give no more in Ecclesiasticalls then the *Presbyterians*, and in others you give lesse, and they give more. *M. Robinson* in his Apologie saith of himselfe and his Church, that in the point of the civill Magistrate and his office, they hold altogether the same thing which the *Belgicke Churches* do, and that to their Confession in this point they doe *ex animo* agree. Now the *Belgicke Churches* are *Presbyterians*, and your Church-way and *M. Robinsons* differ not much, so that till we know what you give more to the civill Magistrate, then *M. Robinson* and his Church, I cannot believe you, especially considering *Furroughs* on *Hosea*, sixth Lect pag 164, 165, 166.

Robinson Apolog. cap. 11. de magistratu polio.
Item prorsus sentimus de magistratu & illius munera quod Ecclesia Belgica & earum confessioni hac in re, ex animo suffragamur.

on *Hosea*, speaking of the power of Magistrates in Church-affaires, gives no more to them then the rigidest Presbyterians, namely, *That the King is supreme Governour to governe in a civill way by civill Lawes, so as to see Christ dishonoured, so as to keep out Idolatry, to protect the Church, to punish enemies that are there, to defend it from enemies: In that sense he is said to be the head* that title of supreme Governour being understood in a civill way is more proper. Now it were easie out of *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Zanchinus* and many Presbyterians to show more power given to Kings by them in matters of Religion, then by *M. Burroughs* there, so that I have more reason to judge of your principles by what *Mr. Burroughs* writes particularly, and by way of answering doubts of conscience, then from a Narration in generall, and from what we think more then the principles of the Presbyteriall-Government will suffer them to yield. In other things you give not so much to the Magistrates, as the Presbyterians.

^a Jun lib. 1. de Pontif. cap. 7. not. 2. Nos ita distinguamus, magistratus qua magistratus est humana societatis caput, humana ordinatione, qua Christianus vero est divina societatis in Ecclesia membrum, divina ordinatione, et in eadem custos et vindex ordinis, ut membrum electum sit, et not. 4. Christiani, sunt praestantia Ecclesiae membra.

and power, you according to your principles do not own him for a member of the Church, neither shall his children be admitted to Baptism, nor he to the ordinances, though a Protestant and Orthodox, unless you account him a visible Saint, &c. neither do you give him so much power or vote, no more in a particular Church in any Church-matters of censures, admissions, election of officers, &c. as you do give to one of your serving-men, and the Supreme Magistrate and his children though brought up, and professing the true Religion, may be and will be kept from the Sacraments all their dayes.

2 The Presbyterians give to the Magistrate a coercive and coactive power to suppress heresies, schism, to correct troublers and unruly persons in the Church, to tie & bind men by their authority to the decrees of Synods and

^b *Poet. Disp. de quest. peneis quos sit potestas Ecclesiae. part. 2. Thes. 4. 5. Rejicimus hac nova dictata Remonstranti-um, cap. 2. 5. Apolog. quorum primus non posse magistratum ad decreta Synodica verbo Dei conformia observandum sua auctoritate obligare et constringere.*

^c *Apollon. jus magistr. circa sacra par. post. cap. 3. exam. q. 12. statuimus quod magistratus potestatem habeat coactivam, quae res Ecclesiasticas ex praescripto verbi Dei constitutas, legitima via arguet, et subditis imponit ad disciplinam Ecclesiae stabilendam et Ecclesiasticum quendam ordinem.*

First, whereas the Presbyterians do acknowledge the Prince & Magistrate, an eminent Member of the Church, and in their greatest Assemblies & Councils give him an eminent place

and power, as *Vocatus* shows, only the Remonstrants with the Libertines did not admit, but the Presbyterians do reject such opinions, that the Magistrate could not by his authority bind and compell men to observe the decrees of Synods, conformable to the word of God: now

allow the Magistrates such a power? By your pleading for tolerations of
 and for libertie of conscience, and that conscience is not to be tied,
 by your speaking against impositions of things lawfull and agreeable to
 word, as set formes of Prayer decreed by Synods and such like, 'tis verie
 obvious you allow not such a power to Magi-
 strates, and your good friend *M.S. in his answer to
 observations and considerations upon your A-
 pologetical Narration pleading your cause denies, and pleads against this
 power of the Magistrate.

*M.S. to A.S. p. 55, 56, 57, 58,
 59, 60.

The Presbyterians give a great deale of power to the supreme Chri-
 stian Magistrate in the Reformation of Religion, and in repairing and
 building the house of God, as might be showne out of *Calvin, Zanchius,*
the Martyr, &c. but whether the Independents give as much, when
 they allow private men to gather and make Churches and Ministers,
 in such publike workes, and that without leave, nay against the
 laws of the supreme Magistrate, I question: There is a
 Church in my hands about a Church, that goes under the name of one
 Church, wherein Civill Magistrates are cut off, and Ministers too from
 any power to make Churches, and "the immediate Independent
 power from Christ is given to the Saints onely, to gather and combine
 themselves in such an Assembly without expecting warrant from any Go-
 vernour whatsoever upon earth: Saints as Saints have a right and full
 power to cast themselves into the fellowship without asking the consent of
 Governours and Civill Magistrates, who have no power in the marriage
 of their people, nor should have, it being an act of naturall civill right,
 and Magistrates have no power over Family-Government to appoint
 whom I shall admit into my Family, &c. much lesse have they power e-
 ver to Christ's Family; this union of a Church is a spirituall right which is
 manifestly out of the sphere of the Magistrates authority, and the Apostles
 taught the Saints to do it without asking leave of the Magistrates, yea not to
 make it though the Magistrates forbade it, Heb. 10. 25. Now I believe you
 cannot show me anie principle in Presbyteriall Government, nor quote
 the judgement of any Presbyterian that cuts short the power of the
 orthodox Protestant Magistrate about Congregations and Assemblies
 that doth.

The Presbyterians do grant the Magistrate a power about the publike
 exercise of the Ministerie, that 'tis so farre subject to the direction of the
 Magistrate, that without his approbative authority or confirming authority,
 the toleration of it, it ought not by the Church to be publiquely begun.

in

* Concedendum publicum ministerij exercitium cum o mibus suis circumstantiis politicis & Sæcularis consideratum, eatenus magistratum directioni subiectum esse quod absque auctoritate ejus approbativa, seu confirmativa, seu voluntaria jurisdictione, ab Ecclesia publicè in ejus ditione institui, & cum apparatus politico executioni mandari non possit; nisi leges Reipublice fundamentales subditis id concedant & tribuant. Apollonius, juri majestatis circa sacra. par. post. cap. 3. Exam. quæst. duodecima.

this power about the exercise of the Ministry. Now whether your Principles allow this to the Magistrate, let your practices speak, about your making Ministers, and exercising of it as you doe.

5. The Presbyterians grant to the Magistrates a power in private meet-

² *Rejicimus hæc nova dictata Remonstrantium: Magistratus nullam esse potestatem in privatis conventibus, sed tantum in publicis templis. Vos disput. penes quos sit potestas Eccl. Thes. 4.*

tings as well as in publike Churches, over exercises there, as well as those in the publike places: So

³ *Voetius, We reject that noveltie of the Remonstrants that the Magistrate hath no power in private meetings, but only in publike Temples.*: Now whether you allow the Magistrates a power concerning

your private meetings, or onelie over the publike meetings, or whether you doe not with the *Arminians* make the ground of this power in the Magistrate, the granting of a publike meeting-place, I desire to be satisfied from you. But by all this the Reader may see in these particulars, you doe not give more power to the Magistrate; for the Presbyterians give what you give, and not onelie so, but they give that which you denie, and so give more then you: But Brethren wherein and in what doe you give more to the Magistrates power then the Presbyterians? Had you exprest wherein the Presbyterians give too little to the Magistrates power, and in what their principles are defective, and wherein you give more, you had dealt fairly and ingeniously, and a man might have knowne where to have had you, and how to have answered you, but to accuse thus in the generall, and not to signifie the crime, is not just; but as you do throughout your Apologie under the figge-leaves of darke, doubtfull, generall speeches, cover your opinions, least your nakednesse should appeare, so in this place: but not to let you go away thus, but that I may drive you out of your holes and thickets, and divest you of your coverings, and that I may a little take off the Odium and suspicion that Presbyteriall-Government may lye under amongst many who know not their principles by reason of this passage of yours; (*The Magistrates power to which we give as much, and (as we thinke) more then the*

in his territories, nor practised. * Apollonius of Zeland, who writ an Answer to *Vedelius* by the command of the *Walachrian Classis*, was a great Presbyterian; and in that answer must needs shew it, upon occasion of *Vedelius* giving so much to the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things, yet he grants the Magistrate

of the Presbyteriall-Government will suffer them to yeeld) I will propose some questions to you to draw out what you hold about the power of the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things, and to give some farther light to the present of the Presbyterian Principles concerning the power of Magistrates (reserving the particular laying down what the Presbyterians hold of the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things, and what not, till my Rejoyntiall come out to your Replie:)

Whether the power of the Magistrate about Ecclesiasticall things be *extrinsecall*, objective, coercive, indirect, mediate, accidentall and consequent, or *spirituall*, *intrinsecall*, formall, proper and antecedent: Now concerning the first, the Presbyterians give as much to the Magistrate as you, as hath been partly shewed already: but for the other the spirituall, *intrinsecall*, formall, &c. If you ascribe to the Magistrate, as I think you do, nor your principles do not yeeld it; unlesse according to your second principle laid down in the 10. and 11. page, you are since the Assembly to pick the Parliament the more (as you may imagine) come off from your judgment and practise. I do refer you for satisfaction to the three

learned, select Disputations of ^a Walens excellent answer unto the tractate of *Utenbogardus* (so that the Author could never reply though in book published he pro-

^a De quest. Penitusquis superstitias Ecclesiastica.
^b Vala. Tract. de officio ministrorum, & auctoritate atq; inspectione quam magistratus super ministros habere debet.

(c) Apollonius juxta majestatem circa sacra.

do it,) & unto (c) *Apollonius* learned answer to *Vedelius* Dissertation. I take of you whether the civill power doth contain the Ecclesiasticall power, and eminently, so as that power can give and produce the other? whether there is an *intrinsecall* dependance of the Ecclesiasticall upon the civil in their nature, forme, and exercise of them? or whether there doth reside in the Church all Ecclesiasticall power absolutely necessary to the setting up of the Kingdome of Christ, and salvation of men, even when the Magistrate is not of the Church?

I take of you whether in writing this passage of your Apologie you considered and remembered all those differences and distinctions given by so many excellent Divines, as *Junius*, *Amesius*, &c. concerning the two powers, Civill and Ecclesiasticall, and their administration, and particularly amongst the rest, that difference taken from their (d) matter,

(d) Altera differentia à materia sumitur, subjecti etq; administrationum. Politica administratio subjectum offert humanarum definitionis nostrae posuimus, Ecclesiastica divinas esse & sacra docuimus. *Luminis Eccles. l. 3 c. 4.*

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and.

and the subject, wherein they make the subject of politicall administration to be humane things and matters, but of Ecclesiasticall to be divine and sacred and if so, whether do not Presbyterians according to those differences and distinctions (which distinctions are acknowledged also by your selves, as by M. Robinson and by some of you in your printed bookes as (I remember) give the Magistrate that power in Ecclesiasticals, which is given him in the word of God.

4. Considering all Ecclesiasticall power and right is commonly by Divine reduced to a three-fold head, namely *potestas* *legis*, *iudicij*, *executivæ*, which of these powers do you give more to the Magistrates then the Presbyterians or in all of them do you give more, or do you not? For the present that power you seem to give the Magistrate, and intimate it that you give more then the Presbyteriall principles allow (as may be gathered from the following words in p. 19. and from those words in p. 17. *The Magistrate interposing a power of another nature, unto which we upon his particular cognation and examination of such causes professe ever to submit, and also to be most willing to have recourse unto*) must fall under the least head of the power of judging and determining in matters Ecclesiasticall, and that upon complaints and appeals; now the Presbyterians in that give the Magistrate a power about the use and abuse of Ecclesiasticall Discipline and Ecclesiasticall Causes and businesses, yea and definitive too, namely, a politicall, objective, consequent power, which may be diversly exercised, both ordinarily and extraordinarily in a Church constituted and in a good estate, and in a Church fallen and corrupted; *Vortius* in his disputations upon that question, *In whose hands the Ecclesiasticall power is* (a great Presbyterian in that question) grants and gives to the Magistrate a publicke judiciall power of judging, not only with the judgment of knowledge, but definitive in causes and matters Ecclesiasticall, which judg-

* *Habere magistratum quæ talem publicam potestatem judicalem seu iudicandi, iudicio cognitionis non tantum, sed & definitivo de negotijs & causis Ecclesiasticis. Quod iudicium consequens est, non antecedens (neq; enim sunt in iure vel in Ecclesia) ad hæc præsuppositivæ est Theologicum, sed formaliter politicum; quia disquisitio ultimatæ in eo non est, an hoc sit verum, sed an vel illud publica auctoritate tueri et exequi. Potest de quæst. penes quas sit potestas Eccl. par. 1. Tbes. 4. Apoll. jmo majest. circa sacra. cap. 2. par. post. pag. 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68.*

ment is consequent, not antecedent, to the cause the ultimate disquisition is in that, whether that bee true, but whether they will by publicke Authority maintain and execute that. So * *Apollonius* in his Answer to *Vedelius* where he strongly pleads for the Presbyterians in the point of Ecclesiasticall power, yet gives much to the Magistrate ordinarily in a Church constituted & well reformed in the point of this part of power, and extraordinary

traordinaria

ordinarily in the state of a Church corrupted, and greatly disordered, when discipline is corrupted, and the Sacraments contaminated with idolatrous and discipline turned into tyrannie, and when the Ministerie and all Ecclesiasticall meetings both inferior and superiour conspire to oppress the Church of God, and to establish tyrannie in the Church, in such cases the Magistrate may do many things besides the ordinary way: Now let me intreat you to peruse the books of the Presbyterians, and especially *Apollonius* answer to the severall particulars of the power of Magistrates about the use of discipline in a constituted Church, besides the power given them in extraordinary cases, and in your Reply to this Answer satisfie me what you have more. But let me tell you whatever power you give may have found in the Magistrate, which the principles of Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yeeld (some new power may be like that device of the communion of Churches, and Protestation to all Churches that they will be like) yet your Churches may not grant it, and so the Magistrates will never the nearer; the power you give the Magistrate in the 17. and 18. is not yeelded by manie of your own Churches whereof you are Ministers. A Gentleman, a prime member of one of your Churches, immediately after the coming forth of your Apologeticall Narration disclaimed and disavowed that power of the Magistrate exprest by you, in the hearing of a Minister, a Member of the Assemblie, who related it to me. But what is it that you give more to the Magistrates, sure there is something you mean to do in it, if we could find it out; suffer me to guesse at it, and you shall see though you do not formallie expresse so much, yet I have some reason to judge so: First, Do you not meane in this phrase, *the Magistrates to which we give as much, and as we thinke, more then the principles of Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yeeld*, that your Church-way consisting of all of particular Congregations, and not growing into great bodies or combinations and Synods, the Magistrates power is greater over you, in that you may easily deal with you, and dissolve you at pleasure; but for a power to grow into so great a body, an Ecclesiasticall power as large as the civil, so combined, this may be formidable and dangerous to the State, and too great for the Magistrate hereafter to rectifie; this hath been by an active Independent upon discourse of these points suggested to me, and how farre one of you hath reasoned thus in the hearing of manie, against Presbyteriall government, and for Congregationall, you can remember: Or secondlie, Doe you understand by this phrase, that when heresies, schismes or strange opinions are brought in your Churches, and you cannot tell what to do with them,

nor how to suppress them, nor how to have the persons censured, being so powerfull in particular Congregations whereof they are members, in such case you give the civill Magistrate a power to question them for these heresies, schismes, and to imprison, banish, &c. if they do not revoke them; *New-England* practising the way of Independencie, and not having Classes and Synods, that have authoritative power to call to account and censure such persons, were necessitated to make use of the Magistrates, and to give the more to them, a power of questioning for Doctrines, and judging of errors; and punishing with imprisonment, banishment, and they found out a pretie distinction to deceive themselves with, and to salve the contrarietie of the practise to some other principles, that the Magistrate questioned and punished for these opinions and errors (which now for want of Ecclesiasticall discipline and censure they knew not what to do with) not as heresies and such opinions, but as breaches of the civill peace, and disturbances to the Common-wealth, (which distinction if the Parliament would have learned from you, and proceed upon, they might long agoe have put down all your Churches and Congregations, and justlie have dealt with you, as the Magistrates in *New-England* did with M. Williams and the Antinomians, Familists and Anabaptists there, and yet have said they punished you not for your consciences, nor because of such opinions, but because your opinions, waies and practises were an occasion of much hurt to the Common-wealth, a breach of civill peace, a great cause of manie people sitting so loose from the Parliament, a great hinderance to the Reformation, and a ground of much distraction to the publike, and of strengthening the enemy,) whereas the Presbyterians give the power in cases of heresies, errors, &c. that are not remedied in the particular Congregation, to Classes, Synods, Assemblies, to question, convince, judge of, censure and to apply spirituall remedies proper to spirituall diseases, which I am confident of, had such been in *New-England* in the Presbyteriall way, there had never been so many imprisoned, banished for errors, nor the Magistrates put upon that distinction. Or thirdly, Is it that you do give power to the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things of the ultimate determination of matters purely Ecclesiasticall (which the Presbyterians principles do not) as now in matters of doctrine, and in matters of scandall, and in matters of censures, excommunication, deposition, &c. which are brought before, and have past in Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, to appeal from them to the civill Magistrate, and to carrie causes from thence to civill Courts, to repeale and revoke them; Your words and passages about the Magistrates power implice this, and I find that manie quick-sighted men, as the

Classis, nay a whole Synod after them in their late Letters to the
 apprehend you so, and therefore I may upon good grounds judge,
 the two former, that you aime at this third, in saying you give more
 Magistrates power then the Presbyterians; Concerning which que-
 stion, it being a point that I have not much studied, I will not declare my
 judgment in it; But in the Church of *Israel* it seemes that in the things of
 Church the last judgement did belong to the chiefe Ecclesiasticall Assem-
 bly which sate at *Jerusalem*, Deut. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 verses, as *Junius*
 Analysis illustrates that place, and the arguments brought by *Apolloni-*
 on this point, with his answers to *Vedelius* arguments
 great deale of strength in them, and I intreat *Apollon. in majest. sacra*
 your Reply, if you will formally own the giving *sacra, cap. 2. ex ames qua;*
 power to the Magistrate, that you will answer *Sionis septima.*
 second chapter of *Apollonius*.

to draw toward a conclusion of the comparison of the effectualnesse
 between the two wayes, supposing all you say of *Submission, Non-commu-*
nication were true, as also that you did give more to the Magistrate
 than the Presbyterian, and that in spirituall matters, in cases of difference,
 &c. you would from the Church have recourse to the Magistrate
 to submit to his judgement, and that you did allow and would stand
 by the Magistrates assisting and backing the sentence of non-communication a-
 gainst Churches miscarrying according to the nature of the crime, as they
 deserve; (notwithstanding you have determined it, that without all con-
 sideration your way of Church proceeding will be every way as effectuall as the
 Presbyterian way, both in preventing and remedying sinnes, errors, of-
 fences, and in promoting knowledge, godlinesse and peace in the Churches;
 for suppose non-communication of Churches were a way of Christ and a re-
 medie (the contrarie to which I have at large shewne,) yet you must con-
 fesse tis but a lower remedie, not an *authoritative, powerfull, dreadfull* re-
 medie and meanes like that of excommunication, which is the highest and
 most effectuall censure in the Church, the Churches thunderbolt, and Anathema,
 the last remedie and last meanes, which recovers a sinner when all others will not,
 excommunication, suspension, deposition, and so when Non-communication and
 excommunication will not: In the Scriptures are laid down manie eminent fruits
 and effects of excommunication in the people of God, which are not of
 this censure else, and I might fill a book with the ends, benefits and fruits
 of this censure laid downe by Divines in their Tractates and common pla-

* *Nam et remedium entomum atq; acerrimum est ad carnem in homine domandam, ac spiritum vivificandam, & exemplum efficacissimum ne pars sincera trahatur; adversus vero eos qui in contumacia & impoenitentia perseverant medium unicum ad Dei domum fermento et Ecclesia Christi scandalis liberandam, atq; ad deo verbum & sacramenta a profanatione et nomen Dei ab externorum blasphematione vindicandam. Synopf. Punor. Theol. Disput. 48. de Eccl. disciplin. 59.*

nees of Ecclesiasticall discipline and excommunication, but I will name only that of the Profession of Leyden : * "Excommunication is the last medicine and the sharpest for the subduing of the flesh in a man, and for the quickning of the spirit : and the most efficacious example least the sound part should be corrupted : But against them, who persevere in their contumacy and impenitency to the house of God, it onely meanes to free the house of God of leaven, and the Church of Christ from scandalls; and to vindicate the Word and Sacraments from profanation, and the Name of God from the blaspheming of them without. Now pray them in the Scripture anie where the excellent fruits benefts, ends of non-communication of Churches and Protestation against them as we can of excommunication in 1. Cor. 5. 5. 2 Cor. 2. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. 2. Thes. 1. 14. 1 Tim. 1. 20. And then for that other remedie of the Magistrate power added to non-communication, to seeke out wherein non-communication may be defective to excommunication, and for that purpose you say you give more to the Magistrates power, that so what you faile and come short in Ecclesiasticall power, you may make it up in giving more civill power in Ecclesiasticall causes, the result of which must needs be this that though in your Church-way, you have not so much Ecclesiasticall authoritative power for miscarriages, and for reducing Churches that fall into heresie and schisme, yet you give more civill power, and allow the Magistrate more to interpose for helping and reducing, so that lesse Ecclesiasticall power and authoritie with a large civill power to backe it, will be even as effectuell as much Ecclesiasticall authority, with a small civill power : But of this I shall shew you your mistake, because the question is of Church matters, and matters of conscience and the inward man, and of the Kingdome of Christ : Now the remedies and meanes appointed for these are spirituall and Ecclesiasticall; namely spirituall punishments Christ saith, *my Kingdome is not of this world*; and the Apostle, 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5. *The weapons of our warfare are not carnall but mighty through God to the pulling downe of strong holds, by which the spirit and the inward man even every thought is subjected to the obedience of Christ*: spirituall remedies and meanes must be used in the Kingdome of Christ, and by them Christ doth his worke, and hence in Ecclesiasticall discipline, and those scandalls

Church (which is the point in hand) punishments in the bodie or
 the purse, &c. which can be by the pow-
 er of the Magistrate, have no place at all; * nei-
 ther can such meanes which are of a different
 from the spirituall Kingdome of Christ,
 produce those effects which belong to that heavn-
 ly Kingdome: 'Tis out of the sphere of the
 civill of the politicall Magistrate to subdue the
 outward man, or to inflict spirituall punishment
 upon the consciences: And there is nothing more
 in the writings of the most learned and
 judicious Divines, then to shew that the civill
 government of the Magistrate, and the
 spirituall government of the Church are toto
 coelo joynd, and thereupon the power of the
 Magistrate by which he deales with the corrupt
 manners and disorders of his people, is in the na-
 ture and specifical reason distinct from Ecclesiasti-
 call discipline. For the power of the Magistrate,
 by which he punishes sin, doth not subserve to the
 Kingdom of Christ the elect, that he may apply efficaciously, to the elect
 the civill and Priestly office of Christ; he doth not affect the inward man
 or conscience with spirituall punishment, neither is this instituted of God
 as the meanes for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit
 may be lived in the day of Christ. Hence also by Divines, the manifold diffe-
 rence between the censure of excommunication and the punishment of the
 Magistrate is observed, * *Zanchinus* doth accurately shew the diffe-
 rence between them, *The cause of excommunication is not the pu-*
ishment of sin, but the salvation of the sinner, and the edification of the Church, and
the glory of God: but the scope of the civill Magistrate and his office, is that he should
*look to the salvation or damnation of the offend-
 er upon although the sinner repent, yet he doth not spare, but punisheth accor-*
ding to his office. But the Church according to Christs doctrine doth not strike with
the spirituall sword, unlesse he be impenitent, neither is this done for death but for sal-
vation therefore where any one repents the Church receives him: so that in substitu-
 ing the Magistrates power in defect of excommunication, and giving a great
 more civill power for want of spirituall to make it as available for
 the spirituall ends of the Church, is to leave the proper remedies and means,
 and to take up others; and I would desire you to answer me, whether the proper

* *Qua vero quæ a spirituali Christi
 regno aliena sunt, essentia quæ ad
 hoc celeste Christi regnum perti-
 nent producere nequeunt, proin-
 de quod institutione divina ad
 eos producendas non sunt sanctifi-
 cata. Disciplina Ecclesiastica ni-
 hil statuit in hominum bona, ju-
 ra, dignitates, fortunas, &c. Sed
 pœna quæ clarum potestate infi-
 gitur spiritualis & quæ hominum
 internum et spiritualem ejus sta-
 tum concernit. At vero extra
 spheram utilitatis politici Ma-
 gistratus est internum hominum
 subdere, spiritualem pœnam con-
 scientiis inferre, & el hominum
 animas ab eis liberare. Apollon.
 l. 1. Majest. circa sacra. cap. 2.
 exam. quæst. 7. pag. 109.*

* *Zanch. de
 Discipl. Ecl.*

proper remedies and means appointed for such ends and uses, or the improper remedies, nay remedies appointed and intended mainly for other ends, be most effectually and powerfully to accomplish those ends? as also whether a part of a proper remedy being assisted and backed with a great proportion of a remedy of another nature and kind, can be as effectually as the whole remedy and means? as for instance, whether a little grace assisted by civility and fairness of nature, will do as much to overcome lusts and destroy the flesh, as the highest degrees of grace that Saints may attain unto? and whether a little spiritual knowledge, seconded with a great deal of common and outward knowledge, is as available for a Christian conversation as great measures of spiritual knowledge, though a man have but a little knowledge in Philosophy, Physick, Law? &c. But more particularly to let you see, that your recourse unto the Magistrate and the Magistrates assisting and backing the sentence of non-communication is not comparable to that of excommunication and Presbyterial government; I shall commend to your consideration these eight following particulars;

First, There may be many sins and errors which the Christian Magistrate meddles not with, are not matters of his cognisance, if you would have recourse to him, or if the sentence of non-communication be pronounced against a Church because of impenitence in them, he hath nothing to do to assist and back it; there are no laws for such things which yet being spiritual

all evils and prejudicial to the souls of men, should be dealt with to recover men out of them: Learned Zanchini in his differences that he gives between the sentence of excommunication and the Magistrates censure, observes this for a special one: "There are many wickednesses against which the Magistrate truly Christian doth not use to proceed, neither bound by his Lawes; as for instance, waste fallings out, hatreds, &c. as also

Ad hoc multa etiam sunt scelera in quæ ne Magistra: aut quidem Christianus animadvertit: sicut aut teneatur ex legibus suis, veluti sunt privata inimicitia, similitudo, participatio cum idololatriis in aliquo impio cultu, dissimulatio vera religionis: denique multi mali moras, tum domestici, tum publici, qui non turbant aut pacem publicam, aut honestatem, et commodum publicum: Ecclesia vero ne ista quidam ferre debet sed corrigere juxta Christi institutum, Zanch. de Discip. Ecclesia.

"nyevill manners both domesticall and publike, which doe not disturbe the peace, like peace or the publique good, but the Church ought not to beare these, but correct them according to Christs institution; Now what will you doe in this case, here your recourse of submission to the Magistrate, and the Magistrates backing non-communication faile you and conduce nothing at all.

Secondly, In case the Magistrates be of those Churches and chiefe in sinnes, and miscarriages for which Non-communication is denounced against

Churches (as may easily fall out) how will you have the sentence of non-
 communion now backed and assisted? both those Churches and the Magi-
 strates members of them, shall have nothing to back non-communication, to
 make it equivalent to excommunication; nay I ask of you, who bring in more
 the Magistrates power to supply the want of excommunication, where
 the particular Church will not, and the Classes may not, what shall be done
 when the Magistrates offending, what means hath God left for the recovery
 thereof? you cannot imagin they will make use of their power against them-
 selves now if they may not have spirituall remedies and censure, as of excom-
 munication, this principle of the Magistrates power falls short here, whereas
 the Synodical Government ther's a remedy & redresse for all, and certainly
 the ways of governing his Church provides for all, whereas yours falls short
 here. What if upon the sentence of non-communication denounced against a
 Church or Churches, the Magistrate judge otherwise, and hold the sentence
 of non-communication unjust and will not assist it, (which may ordinarily fall
 out) what effectuall means hath the offending Church of being reduced now
 by use of the Magistrates power? and what must be done in this case? May
 the Magistrate revoke that sentence of the Church, or Churches offended, and
 declare it null, and cause the Churches who passed the sentence to recall it,
 and continue their communion? and suppose those Churches will not re-
 voke it but stand to their act, what shall be done in this case? who must judge
 between these Churches and the Magistrate? may the Magistrate now
 use his power which you give him in Ecclesiasticall, instead of backing sen-
 tence of non-communication against a Church miscarrying (as the Church sup-
 pose) now turn his power against the Church for denouncing the sentence
 of non-communication unjustly (as the Magistrate judgeth) and not onely de-
 clare it void, but punish this Church or Churches for denouncing such a sen-
 tence of non-communication, and declaring and protesting to all other Churches
 that they may do the like? and what if all the Churches protested to, will
 renounce communion with the Church censured with the sen-
 tence of non-communication, notwithstanding the Magistrates refusing to assist
 the sentence, nay though he declare it void? or what if upon the Magistrates
 declaration, some of the Churches give the right-hand of fellowship againe,
 and others will not, what must the Magistrate or the Churches doe in these
 cases, and the like? consider well of it, whether this effectuall way of yours,
 the Magistrates assisting and backing the sentence of non-communication, instead
 of a powerfull means to relieve injured persons, or reduce Churches, will
 prove a meanes of great differences and divisions, as well betweene the
 Churches and the Magistrate, as between the Churches themselves.

4. Must the Magistrate assist and back the sentence of non-communication against the Church or Churches offending, and persisting therein, upon the comming of it to him? and so punish it according to the nature of the crime as he judges meet, without first hearing what the Church can say for it selfe or must he first heare them both? and in case more Churches mutually renounce communion with one another, and protest against each other with other particulars instanced in about the remedy of non-communication under the fourth generall head, what shall he doe in these cases, must he heare all?

5. What Magistrate or Magistrates doe you meane, to whom in Ecclesiasticall causes you will have recourse unto, and that must assist and back the sentence of non-communication? Doe you mean the supream and chiefe Magistrate, the highest powers only, or all inferiour Magistrates in their severall Iurisdiccions and divisions where these things fall out, as Majors of Cities and Towns, Justices of Peace and such Magistrates? or doe you mean the Christian Protestant Magistrate, or Magistrates, though Heathens, Popish, Arminians? or do you mean by the Magistrates power that there shall be Courts of civill Iudicature erected in every division of the Countie, to heare the differences that fall out between Churches offended one with another? &c. or what do you mean? If you understand the supream Magistrate only and the highest powers, can they alwayes heare or attend unto, through the many great busineses of State affaires, all the differences, scandalls, schismes, that both in particular Churches, and between Churches will fall out in a Kingdome or Nation in this way of non-communication and protestation against one another (especially in Independent Churches, where people make Churches and Ministers in that way they doe, and have no fixed rules nor certain way) I warrant the supream Magistrate, and higher Powers, Kings and Parliaments shall have something to doe to back the sentence of non-communication, and to heare all causes and differences: But if you understand the inferiours also, Majors, Bayliffes, &c. I represent it to you, what fit Judges most of them are to judge and determine of such difficult Ecclesiasticall causes in heresies, schismes, scandalls &c. which fall out amongst the Ministers of Churches, and between Churches themselves: Again, if you understand the Magistrate indefinitely and absolutely, any Magistrate, though Heathen, Popish, Arrian, as Mr. *Robinson* doth in his Apologie; and I find it in your manuscripts and principles, that you take it so; judge then in your selves if the Church hath not remedies among themselves: how fit are they who understand not Christian Religion nor the doctrines according to godlinesse, to judge of the great differences between Churches, and to assist the sentence of non-communication against Churches? the Apostle *Paul* reproveth the *Corinthians* so in 1 Cor. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 for

ing matters from the Church (even the smallest matters, the things that
 related to this life) unto unbelievers, how would he blame the carrying
 things spirituall and Ecclesiasticall unto Heathen from the Ministers of
 the Church: or doe you understand, that there shall be Courts of civill Judi-
 cature to appeale unto, &c. then there must be certain Lawes and rules agreed
 upon, as for particular Churches, so between the Churches, according to
 which they must proceed to back the sentence of non-communication and pro-
 hibition, &c. (which yet you practice not.) Now the many inconveni-
 ences that would come of such Courts you may easily fore-see, so that this is
 not like to be an effectuall remedy.

6. What shall be done in case there be no Magistrates at all, to take any
 notice, in matters of Religion and Church government, but leave Churches
 to themselves, in that; as it was with you in *Holland*, there were no Magi-
 strates meddled with the government and order of your Churches, nor none
 to have recourse unto, or to back the sentence of Non-communication, you be-
 ing a place and State where no outward violence or any other externall autho-
 rity, either civill or Ecclesiasticall would have enforced you, what shall in this
 supply the defect of Excommunication, and of an Ecclesiasticall autho-
 rative power? Hath not the wisdom of Christ provided remedies in the
 Church for all the internall necessities of the Church, and constituted it a
 perfect body within it selfe?

7. Whether can it be rationally and probably thought that in an ordina-
 ry way the having recourse unto the Magistrate though orthodox, and the
 submitting to his particular cognizance and examination of such causes, with
 backing the sentence of Non-communication in Ecclesiasticall causes, in cases
 of times, errors, differences that arise in Churches, should be as effectuall
 and sufficient a remedy as the way of Classes and Synods? and that the Ma-
 gistrates interposing their authority and power of another nature will be as
 good as the *Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in all the subordinations*
and proceedings of it: Now that 'tis not probable it should be, or that it should
 be in stead of Synods and Classes, take these probable and rational
 grounds. 1. All wanton wits and erroneous spirits, all your Sectaries and
 Hereticks are rather for this way then for Synods and Classes, (though most
 of them would have neither to meddle at all in matters of Religion, as the
Quakers, Anabaptists, &c.) Thus the *Arminians* were against Classes and
 Synods, and all for the power of Magistrates, and it was their chiefe Engine
 by which in those sad dayes of the *Netherlands*, they increased their party,
 and came to such a height. Sectaries hope that if they can decline the Ecclesi-
 asticall Assemblies, they shall what by flattery, and what by delay (through

other great businesses of State) and what by sophismes and fallacies, and what from principles of policy in many States-men, and what by friends, &c. effect that which they have no hopes at all by Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, they know the Presbyteries and Synods are able to discover their fallacies, answer their arguments, will mind those businesses wholly, are not to be wrought upon by State principles, &c. Now if in experience and reason, this way were as powerfull to reduce a Church or Churches from schisme and heresie, they would never be so much for this way rather than Presbytery. 2. Naturall reason dictates that they are best able and fittest to judge and resolve of things, who do above others give themselves to the study and profession of those things, as Physitians can best judge of wholesome meats, and diseases, and Lawyers of the lawes and differences arising in them, a Counsell of Warre of difficult cases and points in war; And therefore in things that belong to the spirituall good of the people and the Church, the Ministers of the Church are most likely to resolve and to remedy things: Can it ordinarily be expected that the Magistrate should in matter of doctrine and opinion, in matters of schisme, and in matters of worthinesse and abilities of Ministers, and in many cases that arise, be able to judge and determine matters, as the Ministers and Pastours of the Church? 3. Those who have most time and leisure to attend a work and business, to sit into it, to heare all that can be said, and can mind it, they being able and understanding are likeliest to determine best, and bring things to a good end: we see in experience that able and honest men through multitudes of business, delay long, flubber over businesses, and cannot do things so effectually as they ought, and seldome prove good Arbitrators in difficult, intricate cases: Now Magistrates through many great and necessary businesses of State, having large dominions, cannot so well attend as the Classes and Synods to heare and examine all the differences, scandals, schismes, &c. that do and may arise both in Churches, and between Churches (especially as would fall out in the Independent way, and particularly in this way of submission, Non-communication and mutuall Protestation) but matters would be delayed and neglected, or escape wholly, or be huddled up. 4. To these I might adde as followes, that the Magistrate through his just greatnesse would not know the spirits and dispositions of Ministers and people, nor of other matters so well, as the Ministers who live among them, and converse with one another frequently, neither would there be that easinesse of access to the Magistrates and great persons, as to their Ministers and Pastours, with other such like.

8. But in Ecclesiasticall matters and differences, upon the Magistrates interposing his power, what is it you will submit unto? and what will you allow

to doe? And what is that power you will give him in backing the
 of Non-communication upon his judgment of the cause; and how far
 what will you obey him, that so we may understand how this Civil
 is intended by you for a remedy and helpe in Churches and between
 For instance, will you submit not to gather Churches, nor set up
 without his leave, and upon complaints of the many mischiefs
 differences occasioned thereupon, will you upon his hearing both sides,
 judging that those who are gathered shall be dissolved, dissolve them
 and not meet in those wayes any more? Will you upon some members com-
 ing to the Magistrate of some Minister or Ministers in their Church for
 erroneous and unprofitable doctrine, meere novelties, subtilties,
 the Magistrate upon particular cognizance and examination of such cau-
 sages that he shall preach no more, will the Minister forbear upon it?
 the Church to heare him in case the Minister would not yeeld? will the
 now, give chuse a new and Orthodox Minister upon it? or in case a
 more be unjustly excommunicated, and they complaine to the
 Magistrate, who calling the Church to account, and hearing both sides, shall
 on the Complainants side, and now order the Church to absolve him,
 order them to confesse their sinne publikely, and appoint them to keep
 of humiliation for it, and order them to give him such a sum of money
 for wrong, trouble, and losse of his time in following the businesse a-
 gainst them, will the Church now submit to doe all this yea or no? What say
 you to these and the like cases? Now I aske you this in the close, because you
 give a great deale of submission to the Magistrate, and to give him much
 power (which though you did grant, yet for the many reasons and grounds
 already specified, this would not countervail the way of the Presbyterians
 in their spirituall censures by Presbyters and Synods) whether you clearly
 and plainly allow this to the Magistrate? because I find in Manuscripts, and
 hear that in Sermons by men of your Church-way, the contrary is publikely
 preached & held, as for example in that Treatise about a Church which goes un-
 der one of your names, there is this passage, with more to that purpose. "The
 "people need not expect their power or leave for to gather together, so as with-
 "out is such a combination is unlawfull, nor should they forbear it out of con-
 "fidence of the Magistrates prohibition; indeed if the Magistrate should force or
 "compell them to forbear or persecute them, they may forbear actually assembling.
 "Altho' not because the Magistrate forbids it, but in mercy to themselves: And
 "what about a Church (Christian Magistrates have no more power then Heathen
 "Magistrates had: So that this is spoken by you where Magistrates are Chris-
 "tian and where Churches are already settled: And adde to this that M.S. in his
 Reply

Reply in defence of your Apologie is against coercive and coercive power in matters of Religion, and that you all hold a toleration, & that the Magistrates ought not to hinder men, or punish them for the matter of their consciences, how then notwithstanding all your discourse of the power of the Magistrate, which added to Non-communication will be an effectual means to relieve persons injured, to reduce Churches and persons going in schisme and error, shall persons injured be remedied, or Churches and persons reduced? For suppose the persons or Churches that now fall into such errors and schismes will pretend, nay 'tis so really, that they in their conscience hold errors for truths, and thereupon with-draw from such Churches to others; nay suppose those who now receive these new truths should cast out of their fellowship, and excommunicate some for holding otherwise: as for instance a Church falling into *Antinomianisme* should censure some of their members that remain orthodox for legall Christians, and for being enemies to free-grace, and should judge themselves bound to doe so in these and such like cases, what remedy is there for miscarrying Churches by all the power of the Magistrate you pretend to give to him? But this is brought in here by you, and given to him, to put of that strong argument against your way, and that you may have something for present to blind the eyes, and stop the mouths of many that look no further, that it may serve your turne at such a straight, whereas upon other principles you deny the Magistrate this when it shall come to be a matter of conscience: And now by all the severall particulars under this fifth head, the understanding Reader may observe that not only in many respects your Non-communication and Magistrates power are not a remedy comparable to the Presbyterian way, not proper, nor to the nature of the offences and things in question, a way in stead of bringing things to an end, redressing and mending matters amisse, that will be but the beginning of more strife and making more differences and evils then either it finds, or can heale, the mother and nurse of Confusions, Disorders, and endlesse contentions; but also that all the power here pretended to be given to the Magistrate upon examination is no such matter nor will not amount to make good the ends propounded; whereas the Presbyteriall Government here scandalized, as either wholly inconsistent with this forme of Civill Government, or else not giving it it's due, will be found by its principles not only to have powerfull spirituall remedies for all spirituall evils of the Church, but will be found in many respects to make use of, and to give honour and power to the Civill Magistrate as a nursing Father from first to last, even in the ordinary way of the Order and Government of the Church beyond you, besides what they give more in extraordinary cases, in a Church miserably corrupted

disordered, &c. Of which the Reader may read at large in *Apology* (who was a great Presbyterian, cap. 2.) And so learned * *Zanchius* in *de Magistrate*, shewes 'tis in the power of the Magistrate not to suffer Heretickes nor error-
 persions to preach, and he gives him coercive power to cut them off. *Beza* a great Presbyterian in his Epistles and other writings, in matters of Religion doth not exclude the Magistrate, but gives him that power in things which you deny : but besides that power they give the Magistrate they stand for, as needfull in the Church, Classes and Synods for the government of it : *Zanchy* shewes that discipline must take place, where the Ministers never meet
 the meeting of Ministers and Ecclesiastical Synods we judge most necessary ; As no Politie, Commonwealth or
 can consist without their meetings, Senates and Councils, so there is need of Synods for the governing of the Church and for the preventing of heresy. In a word all things are loose in independent Government, every one
 may take liberty without controule, to doe what is good in their eyes, if they like not any Church whereof they are members, they may
 goe to another, nay, a few in a Church disliking that Church may goe make
 one themselves, and make Ministers, and hold what they will, as Mr. *Symonds*
 did with some few more, and since some have rent from Mr. *Symonds*
 Church as he from Mr. *Bridge* : The rules they goe by are loose, nothing
 fixed nor certain among them, and there can be no settlednesse of mind
 or confidence of Principles ; in that way simple and well meaning people
 drawn to their Principles must be drawn till they come to that, to hold
 that there are no true Churches, nor Ministers at all yet upon the earth (which
 principle begins to take, and spread already amongst many Independents.)
 In a word, that Liberty and loosenesse, which is from first to last, in Independent
 Government, holding no authoritative Ecclesiasticall power out of the
 particular Congregation to remedy or prevent any matter, and that
 in the particular Congregation, being on many Grounds and Principles
 of theirs so slight and weake, as the only subject of excommunication
 is any other kind of sinnes then may evidently be perpetrated against
 the parties knowne light, &c. as that two or three Saints or now of late
 seven may with-draw from Churches defective and impure, and make
 new Churches and chuse all officers, &c. with other like ; (so that what need they
 care for that Church of which they are members though cast out, seeing
 they can make new, and have all to their own mind, be chief there) is a dangerous

* Illi certe nullo modo sinēdi sunt vivere, cum illorum temporalis vita alijs sit æterna. *Zanch de magistr.* 168. *Beza Epist.* 83.

Zanch de Eccl. milit. gen. 11. p. 152. De quar. praecept. 713.

rous temptation even to sober men, to make them presume to broach that practise that which else they would never have done. But in the Order and Government of the Reformed Churches there is consistence, unity and strength (as is evident by a hundred years visible experience of Gods blessing from Heaven upon them) there is also a certainty and fixednesse of rules agreed on, both for particular congregations; for Classes and Synods; there is a waying and preserving of officers and people in their bounds, and keeping them from running out to errours, &c. there being no man, be he never able or subtile that can escape calling to account and censure. Magistrates and Ministers have their power in the Church without usurpation and confusion, and to conclude in the words of the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland; *Were Magistrates and civill power acquainted with this order and government of the Church, they would find their authority increased, their work more easie, and their places more comfortable thereby.*

And now having given an answer to that part of your Apologie under that instance of the government and discipline of the Churches, by speaking fully of those five heads unto which I referre all your discourse about the government, and discipline of the Churches, (beginning in pag. 12. and ending in 21.) I will for a while speake something to some of your passages contained in this part of your Narration, which could not so well be taken in, nor properly animadverted upon, under those five heads without the Reader being much confounded and entangled.

1. To that passage, p. 14. *We have for the most part of the time we were broad three Elders at least in each congregation whom we were subject to:* And the Churches were subject to the Elders, you many times having but three & sometimes but two, nay one Elder, the government of your Churches then was either Monarchicall Government, or Oligarchicall at best? And if the Churches were subject to the Elders, who were the Elders subject to, the Elders then were under no subjection, but if the Churches were subject to the Elders, and not the Elders to the Churches, riddle me what is the meaning of all those phrases, the Church still did so and so; not the Elders, the Church at Rotterdam deposed M. Ward, and not M. Bridge and an Elder or two, so M. Nye and M. Goodwin the Ministers, were taken by the Church, and the Church which had offended, confessed their sin, and restored their Minister to his place againe, which sure was not M. Bridge, and a lay-Elder or two.

2. To those passages of Churches offended, calling to an account Churches offending, proceeding to full and open tryals, and examinations, to private charges, and deposition of witnesses openly before all communicants, can be expected in any Court where Authority about them is joyned, and particular Church being censurable by neighbour Churches about them.

in this disjunctive proposition, either this power of calling to an account, examining, deposing witnesses, censuring them, &c. are acts of rule and government, and in the Churches challenged acts of subjection, or not; if you grant they be acts of rule and government, then there is authoritative power which Churches have out of their Churches, and it is in such acts at least, though not in that of excommunication: But if it be so in these, that of excommunication will not follow, let it be considered, for either the censure of excommunication is not founded upon common grounds, on which callings to account, and some censures are, or there is some proper peculiar grounds in the nature of that ordinance, or in the Scripture forbidding that, (though allowing others,) neither of which will be found to have a foundation in Scripture, and if so, then do you make all this adoe of *entire, full, compleate power within your Churches*, and are against the combination of Churches in Classes, and Presbyteries, to doe that constantly, certainly and presently upon scandals that fall upon a Church, which you doe at best but at uncertainties, and after a long time when the remedy may come too late, a yeare or two afterwards; But to answer these are no acts of government and rule in this Church or Churches, but meerly acts of consultation, advice, perswasion, and that when Churches offended have heard all, they only give their counsell and advice, and commend it to them, but it is in their liberty to do or not to doe; though they submit to a hearing, and open tryall by vertue of the principle of submission, yet they submitted not to stand to the determination or judgement of that Church, or Churches: I answer, if you meane no more than bare power of counsell and advice in all this, and no power of Authoritative determination and decision, this is no more, nor you give none to the Churches offended then to particular Christians who may counsel them in such cases; And why then doe you hold out such words, and promise of a *full and open triall*, and what speake you of *roomes for consultation, and of subjecting to an open tryall, and review of what can be brought, and being comfortable by neighbour Churches, &c.* Whether be not all these small phrases and expressions of acts of power and government? can there be so much as triall, and examination, and judiciary charges, and deposition of witnesses without authority, much lesse censure? can you ever shew either in civil government in Common-wealth, or in Ecclesiasticall in Churches, out of Scripture, or stories, where all these acts were exercised and practised by persons who onely had power of counsell and advice? and if you cannot, how can you make it good, but that this must be more then advice and counsell, namely *authoritative power*. It is given as a rule. by your

selves, that in matters of a common nature, 'tis in Ecclesiasticall government as in civill; Now if in all civill Assemblies, all these acts and practises be acts of authoritie and government, why holds it not so in Ecclesiasticall? And further to reason, though Churches be sisters and equall, each considered in it selfe, yet in cases of offence and difference between Churches, the Church complained and appealed unto, to whom the rest submit, should now be greater, and have more power in this thing, then the Churches submitting, and their acts should be authoritative, as in reason, 6, or 8, men falling out, choosing and submitting to others to heare the business, and make an end of it, these are now greater, and have a power and authority over these *quo hoc*, and in these acts and what they doe are acts of power, which they must stand unto or suffer the penalty.

Thirdly, You speake more then once upon occasion of this scandall committed in that Church at *Rotterdam*, of Churches as in the plurall number sister Churches to be consulted with before hand, and of your Churches mutually and universally acknowledging that principle of submission, and how the Church which with others was most scandalized, did by Letters declare their offence, and of requiring a full and publike hearing before all the Churches of our Nation: Now what, and where were those other Churches of whom all this is spoke? I grant, that at *Arnheim* was one Church that Mr. *Bridges* Church should have consulted with, or have submitted to, but where were any other Churches? I will yeeld the Church at *Arnheim* might by Letters declare their offence, but I know not what other Churches did by Letters doe the like; I grant the Church at *Arnheim* was a Church of our Nation, before whom the offending Church did yeeld a publike hearing, but I know of no other, I will not question but that the Church at *Arnheim*, and Mr. *Bridges* Church, did upon the offence of deposing Mr. *Ward*, acknowledge that principle of submission, and submit to one another, but I doubt no other did then mutually submit: for besides the Church at *Arnheim* offended, and Mr. *Bridges* Church offending, there was no other Church of your way and communion for the offending Church to consult with, or that did write letters or before whom the business was heard, &c. for I suppose and judge Mr. *Simpsons* new Church being at that difference with Mr. *Bridges* Church, and Mr. *Bridges* with him, Mr. *Bridges* Church should not have consulted with Mr. *Simpsons* before hand, and that Mr. *Bridges* Church would not have yeelded the principle of submission, to have submitted to a full trial and examination of all proceedings before Mr. *Simpsons*, and in case Mr. *Simpsons* Church had sent letters declaring their offence, they would have declined as partiall, and as accounting them the parties offending; and I never heard

Symson with some messengers of his Church joyned with the messengers of *Arnhem* in the triall of that businesse of Mr. *Ward*, or sate as Judges, so that I cannot tell why you use Churches in the plurall number along in that businesse, but that the Reader might conceive for your authority and esteeme, and for the greater solemnity of the action, there were more Churches besides that at *Arnhem*.

Fourthly, For those two Gentlemen who were sent with the Ministers of the Church offended, to require an account, whether were those Gentlemen Elders of the Church of *Arnhem*, or private members only? If they were not Elders, why were private members sent before Elders, shew us a reason that? and satisfie us how private persons and no officers of the Church should represent the Church? but if they were Elders, why do you call them Gentlemen only and not speake of them as officers?

Fifthly, Whether though you make so sure of it, yet it be not to be taken upon the grounds of reason and light of nature, that it is not more reason and more suited to that liberty and equality Christ hath endowed his Church with, but a point of greater authority, inequality and usurpation to grant men (grant them to be a Church representative) to take upon themselves those foure members of *Arnhem* did to a whole Church for so long, so fully and judiciously to proceed (as you write in the 21. page) to call a whole Presbytery of Ministers and Elders, or a grave Synod to take account, and heare the offences of two or three in a particular Church, and together with that Church representative to decree such censures, and publike acknowledgement of their offences, or excommunication.

Sixthly, I much wonder how you can call the meeting of Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Bridge*, with two Gentlemen more, calling Mr. *Bridge* with the rest of the Church, supposed to be delinquents, such a *solemn Assembly*, the *solemnity* which hath left as deepe an impression upon your hearts of Christs dreadfull presence as ever you have bene present at: Certainly you have either been but in some solemn Assemblies where Christs dreadfull presence hath bene, or your fancie was mighty high at that time, as to make such a deep impression upon you of a dreadfull presence as ever you have been at: Let me know, Mr. *Ward*, what was this Assembly, beyond the *solemn* generall Assembly of the Kingdomes, where you were present when the great *solemn* Covenant of the Kingdomes passed, of which you write so highly into *England*? or was it the Assemblies of Divines, wherein not onely two of you are for ever remembered, but all you five, (with so many other godly Divines, where were two Gentlemen assisting then, here the *Worshies* of both Houses,

Lords and Commons assist,) nay a Theatre of all other the most judicious and severe, where much of the piety, learning and wisdom of two Kingdomes are in one (as your selves confess: afterwards in the 27. pa.) I am of the mind there are ordinarily many Assemblies, and where you may have beene, that have more dreadfull presence of Christ then that had. The Church meeting partake in the Lords Supper, cal'd the dreadfull and terrible houre by some of the Fathers, the Church meeting to excommunicate an impenitent sinner, (where there is a promise of binding in Heaven what is bound on earth which you cannot shew in your principle of submission and non-communication: But this parenthesis is drawne in, in the relation of your practise (in many other particulars in this Booke) to take with the simple people, and possesse them with the excellencie and majesty of your Congregation way, beyond the Presbyteriall and Synodicall, and this passage here in many others in your Apologeticall Narration, are parallell to passages in Bachelours letters, (who after his suddaine conversion to the Church way for want of better arguments to winne the people, and to evince the true of the Church-way, writes thus. For mine owne part, then

Rotterdam, September, 4. 1641. New-
Hills.

but a few weekes agoe when I was in England, I found an objection in my spirit, against the way of the Holland Church, and conceived wrongfully (as Mr. Edwards now doth) a misunderstanding cast abroad by them whose sore eyes cannot endure the light truth, yet since by a good hand of providence I have been at Rotterdam and beheld the beautifull face of holinesse, the lively representations of Jesus Christ his ordinances, the sweet and blessed communion of the Saints in all love and clearenesse, mine objections are removed, mine heart is convinced, and I think my thousands in England as well as my selfe would soone be overcome at the sight thereof. A soule of gracious ingenuity needs no other Rhetorick to move then the presence of these heavenly administrations? But what Anabaptist Antinomian cannot say all this for their way, and more too, crying out in ravishments of the spirit, free and glorious grace, &c.

7. You speake of consulting with sister Churches before that you proceed to matters of great moment, and that you professed publicly in your concernment you ought so to doe, pag. 16. and yet in page 15. you claime full and entire power compleat within your selves untill you shall be challenged to erre grossely, now how doe these agree? for if you must consult before hand, then 'tis not entire, full, compleate power before miscarry, and 'tis but a power of consulting and advising after miscarriages and erring grossely, and not an authoritative power.

8. Whereas you call Presbyteriall excommunication, excommunication

how much more truly may we call *non-communication pretended*, and *excommunication pretended*? for besides that in the Scripture, excommunication is found, there is such a censure there, but no such sentence at all as *non-communication*; there is also ground in Scriptures, that Churches may be excommunicated as well as particular persons, and of this in the Observations and Annotations upon your *Apologeticall Narration*, page 43, 44. you have strong proofes, which your good friend *M. S.* thought best to give notice of, as not knowing how to answer them, and turn them over to *M. S.* to you five, to give a satisfying answer.

For that learned Speech made at the introduction and entrance into that Assembly, as the preface to it, that it was the most to be abhorred maxim of any Religion hath ever made profession of, &c. I say 'tis but a meere word, and according to the Proverbe, here's a great deal of cry, but a little matter, and notwithstanding all these swelling words, you are guiltie in your words and phrales you denie, and in the more proper place I shall speake to it in page 23. of your *Apologie*, I will evince you are guilty of Independent libertie.

Thus we have rendred some small account of those, the saddest dayes of our pilgrimage on earth, wherein although we enjoyed God, yet besides many other miseries (the companions of banishment) we lost some friends and companions, fellow labourers in the Gospell, as precious men as this earth beares any, and the distemper of the place, and our selves came hardly off that service with our healths, yea lives.

In this Section which contains the close and winding up of that part of the Narration, during the time of your exile. I answer, it is a small account of what you have rendred to what you seem to hold out, and to what such a banishment should have amounted, concealing and reserving so much of your sufferings and waies, (as I have before observed,) And as for those words, *the saddest dayes of our pilgrimage on earth, &c.* I wonder at them, sure you have enjoyed many happy men, and have enjoyed many verie good daies, that in your whole pilgrimage on earth of fortie yeares and upwards, those three or four yeares in *Holland*, where you enjoyed so many outward comforts and blessings, should be your saddest daies; for my part I cannot say so; I am I satisfied in those words, besides many other miseries the companions of banishment: For though in some banishments there are many other miseries, as deprivation of wife, children, friends, maintenance, with nakednesse, hunger, wandring up and downe in strange, and desolate places, harsh usage in a strange land, yet you felt none of these: on the contrarie, you enjoyed wives, children, estates, suitable friends

good houses, full fare, I cannot imagine fewer miseries, (had you bene in England) could have waited upon you, then did there, (unlesse that of bitter divisions, and deadly differences, the constant companions of your Church away :) I could name many more miseries did abide some of us that stayed behind, and might have done you too, had you stayed in England: As for those two instanced in, particularly the losse of some friends and companions, your fellow-labourers in the Gospel, and your selves coming off hardly with your healths, yea lives, I must tell you, those cannot properly and truly be called the companions of your banishment; for those two Ministers (namely Mr. Archer and Mr. Harris) according to all reason and humane probability might not have lived longer in England, both of them (as it is well known) having been long weake men in consumptions, and sometimes nigh unto death before they went, and for one of these Ministers, Mr. Archer, he was so far from being worse that he grew better and stronger in stomach, sleep, strength and spirits after he went over into Holland, (as besides the many letters writ into England to friends of all sorts of the healthfulness of that place where he was with some of you, and of the encrease of his strength) I have letters written to me under his owne hand, to shew the contrarie to what you affirme both of the distemper of the place, and of the many other miseries the companions of that banishment: In one letter he writes thus, *For Holland, it is much better then I expected, for pleasantnesse, health, plenty of flesh and foule: we alter not our English dyet in any thing: Utrecht is a brave City, a University with godly professors, full of English, a man may live as pleasantly there as at Hartford. And in another, My stomacke, sleep, strength and vigour, are sensibly increased, the Lord be praised: And besides these letters, the thing it selfe ipeakes, for whereas in England he was not able to preach, nor had not hardly three times in three yeares, after he came into Holland he was a Pastor of the Church at Arnheim, and preached constantly, and had the strength to beget a sonne, whereas he being married many yeares in England never had any child. And not onely from him but from others also there have bene many letters sent to commend the places where you lost your fellow labourers, to be so healthfull and pleasant as to resemble them to Bury in Suffolke and Hartford. As for that high praise of those two worthy Ministers, as precious men as this earth beares any: I thinke it becomes you not they being yours, and of your way, and cannot be interpreted by the understanding Reader, but that you take occasion here, as in all other places of your Apologeticall Narration, to magnifie and cry up your owne party, the more to make people to be in love with your way, which had as precious men as this earth beares any: but I judge it is too high and hyperbolically; for though*

loved the men, and doe acknowledge they were precious, and believe
 we are gone (as that great * Divine writing to
 we shall meet there) where *Luther* and
 doe excellently well agree; yet I must
 correct that phrase, *as this earth beares any*:
 of opinion that both in learning and piety
 were inferiour to some, not onely in the earth
 wide and spacious, containing Churches
 knowlers more precious then you know of, but in this earth of *England*
 and your Encomium of them (if you remember what you writ
 of some precious men alive now in *New-England* as ever this *King-*
 and granting that *New-England* is the earth, doth amount to
 these two Ministers *Mr. Archer* and *Mr. Harris*, were as precious
 were in *England*, which you must pardon me if I doubt it, (for
Mr. Whitakers, *Reynolds*, *Baynes*, *Greenham*, *Dod*, *Brightman*, with
 were more precious:) As for that other instance, *Your selves*
 off that service with your healths, yealives; I have not heard
 any sicknesse any of you five had there, (excepting *Mr. Bridge* who
 off with his health,) Some of you indeed had Agues there,
 you might have had in *England*, in *Suffolk*, or in *Oxfordshire*, and for
 bigger sicknesse, I judge it was as well occasioned, and strengthened
 unhappy differences and bitter divisions between him and *Mr. Simp-*
 and *Mr. Ward* and their Churches, and the wicked reports raised upon
 which discontented and troubled his spirit, as by the distemper of the
 change of the aire; and for others of you, how far and well liking
 come backe into *England*, and how all of you returned well clad and thi-
 beyond most of us, who lived alwaies in *England*, many can witnesse,
 spoken of it (all which were no great signes either of the many o-
 the companions of your banishment, nor of the coming off so hard-
 your healths and lives.)
 When is pleased God to bring us his poore Exiles backe againe in
 convolutions of the times, as also of the condition of this Kingdom, unto our
 Land (the pouring forth of manifold prayers and teares for the prosperitie
 had bene no small part of that publike worship we offered up to God in
 Land;) we found the judgement of many of our godly, learned bre-
 in the Ministerie (that desired a generall Reformation) to differ from
 some things, wherein wee doe professedly judge the *Calvinian-Reformed*
 of the first Reformation from out of *Poperie*, to stand in need of a fur-
 Reformation: themselves: And it may without prejudice to them, or the
 impu-

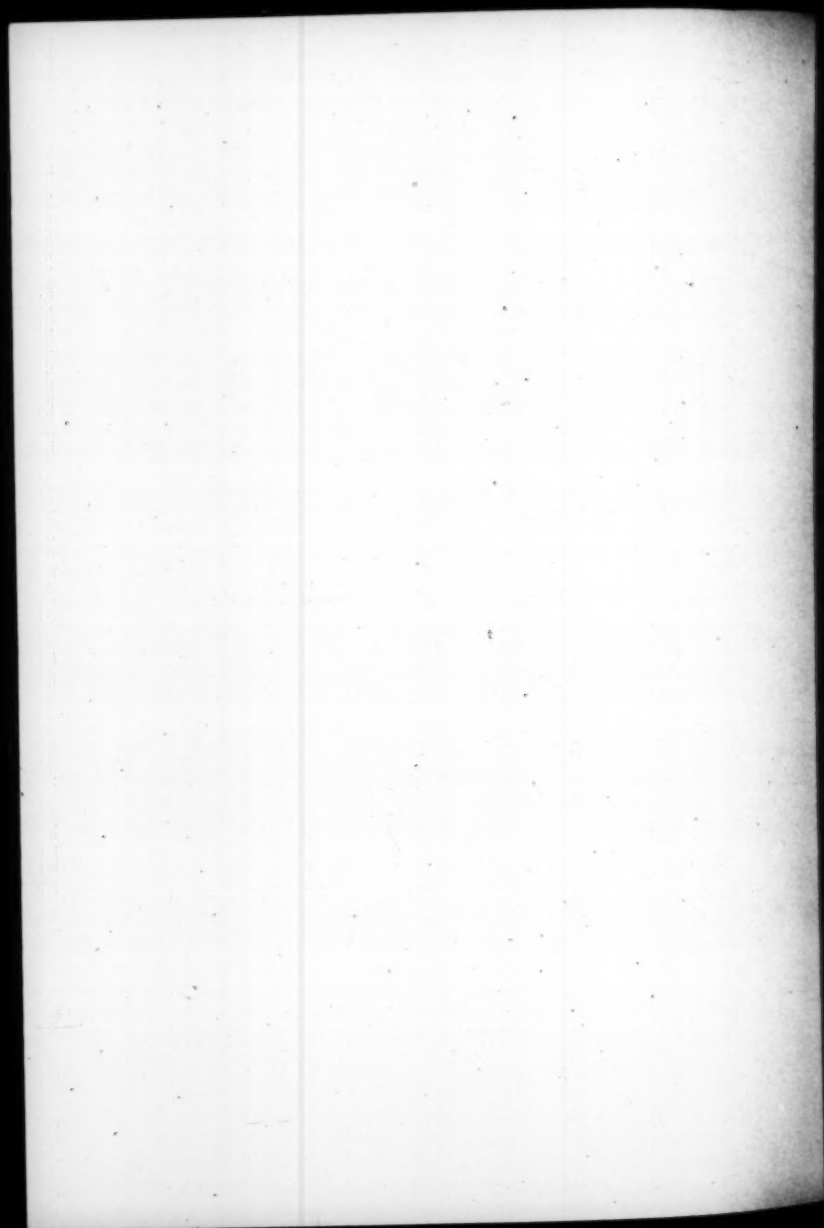
* Melch. Adam. vit. Grynes.
 Grynam Chytras rescriptis &
 inter alia haec: Si non amplius
 in his terra visurus sum: ibi
 tamen convenimus, ubi Lu-
 thero cum Zuinglio optimi
 jam convenit.

A vnication of Ihesus in vs from them, be abought it they coming new
 Poperie (as well as England) and the founders of that Reformation not
 vng Apostolique infallibility, might not be fully perfect the first day, yet
 it may hopefully be conceiv'd, that God in his secret, yet wise and sacred dispo-
 sition, had left England more unreform'd, as touching the outward forme
 both of worship and Church government, then the neighbour Churches
 having yet powerfully continued a constant conflict and contention for a full
 Reformation for these fourescore yeares, during which time he had likewise
 instead thereof, blessed them with the spirittuall light (and that encreasing)
 the power of Religion in the practise part of it. shining brighter and clea-
 rer in the neighbour Churches, as having in this is finite mercie on purpose
 served and provided some better thing for this Nation when it should come to
 be reformed, that the other Churches might not be made perfect without it, as
 Asstle spake.

Having Apologized for your selves and way in your principles, opinion
 practises and carriage towards all sorts both before your exile and
 your exile, here in this section you come to Apologize for your selves,
 for what you have done since your coming back into England, both before
 the Assembly and since the Assembly, untill the time of putting forth the
 present Apologeticall Narration, which beginning in this section is contin-
 ed by you in the following sections to the 30. page: But brethren why
 you in the beginning of this part of your Apologie give your selves the
 name of Gods poore Exiles, was it not enough to have said, when it pleased
 to bring us back againe into our owne Land; but you must call yourselves
 Exiles and poore Exiles; I wonder you termed not your selves poore pilgrims.
 But the reason why you name your selves so here, and in this Apologie
 occasion so often to speake of exile and banishment, may easily be guess'd
 namely to commend your persons and way the more to the people, and
 want of better, to take them with such popular arguments, as suffering
 grievous exile: Thus in many other passages of your Apologie, you bring
 in and insert many such kind of phrases to worke with the people the more
 but doe insinuate many things against the Presbyteriall way, as of engagem-
 ments, publike interest, &c. But let me a little examine whether you truly
 fitly be stiled Gods poore Exiles, I thinke to speake properly, you were
 were Exiles, nor poore, for you were not banished, nor forced out of your
 owne Land, neither by being brought into the High-Commission Court
 by Letters missive, and Attachments out against you, (as ever I heard you
 cepting Mr. Burroughes who fled in haste, as being in dangers for words
 spoken) you went at your owne times over into Holland, with all conveni-

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your Families and other companie. * Among
 the greatest *Fuga* was called *exilium*, and so you
 are out of the Kingdome, in that sense may be
 called, but however in some sense you may call
 it so, because you did flie out of your own Coun-
 try, though none persecuted you, to shun persecution before it came, as
 being a possibility of danger, yet you can in no sense be called *poore*
 Exiles, for you were rich *Exiles*, who in *Holland* enjoyed many conveni-
 ences and such abundance, as to be able (some of you) to spend 100. or 300. lb.
 yearly, and to doe other expensive acts (which for present I forbear to
 mention) And I can produce Letters of many conveniences which you enjoyed
 before quoted by me, of Mr. *Archers*, speake so much. *Poorer*
 are such who have no certaine dwelling-place, maintenance, friends,
 so they can be called *poore Exiles*, that enjoy wives, children, friends,
 and a liberall maintenance annually, liberty of callings, with all pleasures
 and delights as much, or rather more then in their owne country, I see not
 how some merchants and tradesmen who could not so well nor so much
 advantage follow their callings, and drive their trade in their owne
 country should for their better advantage, and accommodations in these
 times, go with their families into another Country, can these be called *Ex-*
iles? Suppose a Minister, who disliking some things here in the present Go-
 vernment to be established; or wanting a liberall maintenance, or fearing
 persecution, should go over to *Rotterdam*, *Hambrough*, to preach to the com-
 mon of Merchants there, where he shall have better meanes, can this Mini-
 ster be called a *poore exile*? Now I leave you and the Readers to make appli-
 cation. As for those words: *Gods bringing you backe againe in these revoluti-*
ons of the times into your owne Land. I know God permitted it, and ordered
 it, and I well know Satan hastened and furthered it, for the dividing of the
 party here, and for the obstructing the worke of Reformation and
 settling the government of the Church, that so in the mean time
 he might increase his Kingdom, and bring in a flood of all errors and licenti-
 ties upon us, and Brethren let me speake sadly to you (not out of passi-
 on, but out of long and serious deliberation) it had been good for you, and
 that you had continued exiles still, and that neither you five, nor they
 of *New-England* had heard of the revolution of our times and Gods visiting
 us in mercie, till the Church and government had been settled; I am con-
 fident that things had not then beene at that passe now as they are: As for
 the *Practitioners*, the pouring forth of manifold prayers and services for the prosperi-
 ty of the Kingdome in a strange Land: I will not gainsay it, onely let me
 mind

mind you of two passages in your Apologie, *Our selves had no hopes of so much as visiting our own land again in peace and safety to our persons, and other, when we had least dependence on this Kingdom, or so much as hope to abide there in peace.* Now take away faith and hope, and endeavours much cease, and this I judge should much hinder your prayers and tears for the prosperity of the land. (for my part I had much hope of the Kingdom when things were at worst, and I express it both in preaching and conference to many, and some can witness what I have said to them of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of that faction, and of the revolution of times) God was pleased so to support my spirit, that I expected and waited (as men do for the light of the morning) when that every day God would rise and doe some great worke and *change the times and seasons.* As for *finding the judgement of many of your godly, learned brethren in the Ministry (that desired a generall Reformation) to differ from yours in some things,* that is no marvell, I wonder you could expect it otherwise, being but a few young men of yesterday, and going a way by your selves so different from all Reformed Churches: But I must tell you, you found not onely the judgement of many godly Ministers that desired a generall Reformation, but the judgement of them all, who were in publike imployment, and of any great count to differ from yours, not only *in some things,* but even in your whole Church-way; how-ever that since by your presence, and your politick way of working, and the strong streame of popular applause running that way, some few Ministers, uncertaine, heady, inconstant, wanton-witted men since come off to your way; but as for your confidence and open profession that in the things wherein you differed from many of your godly brethren that you *professedly judge the Calvinian reformed Churches of the first Reformation from out of Popery to stand in need of a further of Reformation themselves,* answer, they may doe so, and I know no Church yet so perfect but may stand in need of some further Reformation, and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland grant you so much, *pag. 7. That they are most ready to beare and learne from the word of God what needeth further to be reformed in the Church of Scotland:* Now whether your Churches and those of New-England be so perfect, (though not of the first Reformation) as to stand in no need of a further Reformation in government, I much doubt, especially considering that letter lately come from New-England written by Mr. Parker, as also another letter from Mr. Wilson of Boston, and a terrible Letter from a reverend godlie Minister there, whose name I have beene intreated to conceale (least it might prejudice him there,) but for answer I must tell you I doe *professedly*

in your sence in the things excepted against by you, the Reformed Churches (particularlie that of Scotland) need not a further Reformation; but to come to your principles of Democracie; Independencie; Libertie; and to keepe all those and their children from admission into the vi-
 Church whom you keepe out, and to condemne as unlawfull all set
 of prayer composed by Synods and Assemblies (though never so ho-
 heavenlie for matter and frame:) And as to that, *that it may without*
them, or the imputation of Schisme in you be thought that coming
of Popery; they might not be fully perfect the first day. I answer, they
 thought so, neither were they so fullie perfect in Church-government
 as the reformed Churches (particularly the French Church) Synods, Assemblies and Colloquies, where points of government
 have been further debated, cleared, and Canons added, and in the
 of Scotland after doctrine was established, they were exercised in con-
 Assemblies about matters of Discipline and Govern-
 (such is the perfection spoken of here by you) above
 in France, Scotland and Holland, have heretofore
 troubled with the maine of your principles, and have heard all the Ar-
 and reasons for them, and against their owne way, and that both
 and now of later yeares, Scotland of old having been troubled with
 and the Churches of France by Morellius, against whom *Sa-*
 write, and *Beza* in his Epistles writes against that
 of the power of the people, that nothing is ratified
 the people present by their expresse suffrages doe decree it, and a-
 private mens prophesying in the Church: and of late
 the controversie be grown so high) yet Divines both
 and Scotland (as your selves confesse) have writ against your way,
 no light in it, and in a generall Assembly of Scotland since our
 the point being moved and debated there, it was concluded by
 the whole Assembly, *venime contradicente*, as a Letter written from
 Assembly to many Ministers in the City (which I heard read at a mee-
 times, neither are any of the Reformed Churches yet satisfied; by all
 been written about your Independent government, nor our pre-
 Assembly by all they have heard from you, after so many daies speaking
 way. So that what the Reformed Churches stand for now, is not as
 of Popery, and so wanting light (as you asser) and there-
 though they had not Apostolick Infallibility, yet they might well be in
 Church-government, and therefore the Reformed Churches

Reformat. of
Church-govet.
pag. 14.

* Bez. Epist. 68.

* Bez. Epist. 83.

and the Church of England too judging of government now after above 80 years coming out of Poperie, and after hearing all that hath been said, and that you can say (now after almost a years sitting in the Assembly) yet judge Presbyteriall government by Classes and Synods to be the forme of Church-government, against your Independencie, so that now the ground you going upon, being taken away, you cannot without great prejudice to the Reformed Churches so peremptorie judge them (as you do in this place of your Apologie :) And as your practise cannot be without prejudice to them, and the imputation of Schisme in you from them, to set new Churches and divide from them upon these grounds, so this practice yours here against all the Reformed Churches, cannot avoid the imputation of great arrogancie and pride, to proclaime your selves to see more than the Churches in worship and government; and to judge them so. This is presumption that five such young men as you are, and no deeper than you should thus proudlie, and *tanquam ex tripode*, so magisteriallie contend against all the Reformed Churches. Certainlie, had you had the humilitie of Gods servants, you would rather have feared, and questioned whether you might not have beene mistaken in your grounds, and therefore modestlie have propounded your doubts to the Assembly to have resolved them, rather then before the points ever came to be debated in the Assembly (in such matters where you go against the common stream of all Reformed Churches) to have thus professedlie peremptorie and resolvedlie, both in this Section, and in the next pag. 24. determined the questions. And therefore let me friendlie mind you who are you five? of what standing, and what graces to take so much to your selves; and to be so peremptorie, that you should see that, which all the Reformed Churches doe not, nor are convinced by anie of your Arguments, nor what else is extant to see or be convinced of; But as for the close to this part of the Section concerning the *Colmanian Reformed Churches*, that it may hopefully be conceived that God will make *England more reformed as touching Government and Worship then the most reformed Churches were*, &c. It is a strange speech, and favours of a strange conceit of your own way of Independencie, and of your great light and wisdom in this Assembly, (where the Church of England is to be reformed) and to speak plainlie, the English and sence of all these lines is this, *That it may hopefully be conceived that God in his secret, yet wise and gracious dispensation, hath all this long time for above 80. yeares left England more unreformed, and of his infinite mercie on purpose reserved it for this present Assembly*, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, &c. might bring a new light in Church-government and order, and so Scotland and the Neighbour Churches might be reformed.

into their way: But however some of you are men of strong fan-
 cy, and of high confidences of your own opinions, and waies, yet I be-
 lieve you will be deceiyed at this time, (however you may comfort your
 selves and Churches with the hopes of prevailing at another time, saying
 the Presbyterie shall fall as Episcopacie hath done after it's time) (one
 may for want of arguments having used such words to me) and that
 M. N. &c. will not be able to effect what they desire and hope
 may be rather hopefullie conceived, that in stead of the reformed
 coming to them, these five members of the Assemblie at last, with
 others, upon this glorious Reformation will be brought to joyn with
 the reformed Churches, according to the soleame Covenant and oath
 they have entred into.

We found also (which was as great an affliction to us as our former
 trial and banishment) our opinions and waies (wherein we might seeme to
 be environed about with a cloud of mistakes and misapprehensions, and our
 waies reproached, Besides other calumnies and schisme, &c. (which yet
 we relate to a differing from the former Ecclesiasticall government of
 the Church of Scotland, and then who is not involv'd in it as well as we? or to
 the confusion and government that is yet to come; and until that be agreed
 upon and declared, or actually exist, there can be no guilt, or imputation
 of blame to us.) That proud and insolent stile of independencie was affixed
 to our claims, the very sound of which conveyes to all mens apprehensions
 a charge of an exemption of all Churches from all subjection and dependance,
 a transpos of defiance against whatever power, spiritual or civil,
 was to be abhorred and detest, or else the odious name of Brownism, together
 with their opinions as they have stated and maintained them, must needs be
 ascribed to us: Although upon the very first declaring our judgments in the
 most fundamentall point of all Church discipline, and likewise since it hath
 been acknowledged, that we differ much from them: And we did then, and doe
 now, profess, we believe the truth so lay and consist in a widdes way
 from that which is falsely charged on us, Brownism; and that which is the
 substance of these times, the Authoritative Presbyteriall government in all the
 actions and proceedings of it.

I pray you to resolve me, and the Reader, how the first sentence in this
 our opinions and waies environed about with a cloud of mistakes, and
 confusions, and your persons with reproaches, can stand with those words
 of the 1st Page: We found many of those mistakes that had gathered about us, or
 were cast upon our persons in our absence, begun by our presence again, and
 continued upon us, in a great measure to scatter and vanish without spea-
 king.

king a word for ourselves and cause. And now if upon your presence only that without speaking a word they vanished and were scattered, how did they then vanish upon speaking for your selves and way; and then how could a cloud of mistakes be so easily blowne away by your breath, may without your breath be so great an affliction to you, (certainlie you are men void of order of any mistake, misapprehension or reproach upon you;) but I think may be salved by your comparison: as great to us as our former troubles and banishment; both much alike great, that is, neither of them: But what say you by that parenthesis (*wherein we might seeme to differ*) did but your opinions seeme to differ from ours, and do they not really? why then have you and do you make all this ado in our Church? as for your opinions in waies environed with mistakes and misapprehensions, I know nothing for my part hath been falsen'd upon your waies, but what hath bene found in letters, manuscripts, your known practices, and in printed bookes of New England, and in the discourses of your own members and familiars: But some men who have not studied the points, nor given themselves to understand your way, did mistake and misapprehend you, that was your own fault, that walking so in the darke, and having been so often desired to give a Narrative of what you hold in difference, never yet would: As for the calumnies cast upon you of *Schisme, Independencie and Brownisme*, with the reasons inserted to vindicate your selves from them, I shall first give a general answer to them together, and then to each of them apart.

I. In generall, how ever you do in words wash your hands of these imputations, and wipe your mouthes, confidentlie denying them, yet all the water in the Thames will not wash you from all just imputation of them. It is no new thing for men who go in by-waies and maintain errors whether more fundamentall, or superstruictorie, to abominate the names and titles given to those opinions, whether from the Authors who first brought them, or from the matter of them, and to denie the opinions and point charged upon them, by finding out some distinctions, or doubtfull words and expressions to cloud them with, in which sense they wrap up themselves and deceive manie, and so give other names: I might fill up a booke in giving Instances out of antient and moderne writers of this Artifice: But who are commonlie called *Saracens*, their name is *Hagarens*, (as coming of *Hagar*) but they would not be so called, but name themselves *Saracens*.

Catal: Hieronim
Schlüsselb. lib. de
cinus de Secta
Stene'sfeld.

sons of the free-woman: The *Schwenefeldians*, call'd by Luther, Philip Melancthon and other famous Divines, *Schwenfeldians*, from the ill favour of their opinions, yet *Schwenfeldians* entialed them with that glorious name, the

of *Christ*. The Antinomians will not endure to be called by that name, nor will they suffer themselves the hearers of the Gospel, and of Free-grace; the Puritans could not endure to be called Brownists, or Barrowists, (as was by the title of Mr. Robinsons Apologie,) nor you will not endure the name of *Schisme*, *Separation*, *Independency*, but you call it the *Constitutionall* way, and the *Church way*, and an entire, full, and ample power, but by no name of independent government, that will not be indured; As no sin will be willingly by its owne name, but takes other names, Drunkenness will be called good fellowship, covetousness good husbandrie and providence, few errors will be called after the name of the first father, or the principle they hold, and I could give you many reasons of this, amongst these: 1. Many are possessed by bookes and arguments against such errors under such names and titles; now that erroneous men will all the dirt of the arguments and the impressions such names and titles leave upon many, they disclaime the old and invent new words and names, against which the people have not been possessed, the better to deceive them. 2. Erroneous spirits would have nothing fixt or certain to be laid upon them, upon which able men might bring arguments and reasons against them; But the Reader shall see all this will not helpe you; but that charge of these must lie upon you. 3. To answer particularly, You are charged of *Schisme* and *Separation*, and if you consult with the names and Authors both ancient and moderne: *Austin*, *Calvin*, *Epiphanius*, *Marinus*, *Peter Martyr*, *Janus*, *Perkins*, *Parker*, and see what they say of *Schisme* and *Separation*, you will be found guilty of it, and as for the argument brought by you by which you would clear your selves from *Schisme*, that it must either relate to your differing from the former Ecclesiastical government of Bishops, or to that constitution and government that is yet to be answered; though it relate to neither of them, yet it may arise from some causes, your disjunctive proposition doth not containe a full exclusion of all the causes, or reasons of *Schisme*, for the non-conformists did differ from that former Ecclesiastical government, and yet were justly accused of *Separation* and *Schisme*, but writ most vehemently against it, neither is *Schisme* to be judged of upon some difference in judgement which may be from that constitution and government, that is yet to be answered, though some men should differ from it, as not holding it the best government, yet so long as they separate not from the publique worship and sacraments, neither do draw people into separated Assemblies, they cannot be charged with *Separation*; The ground therefore of *Schisme* imputed to you, is from your forsaking our publique Assemblies, and separating from Gods

Gods ordinances and his servants, because of mixt communion, and setting up of Churches against our Church, and going on still in that way, notwithstanding all the Reformation begun, and that which is likely to be perfected so also from not joyning your selves with the other reformed Churches. If you say, that you cannot be counted guiltie of schisme and separation, because you do not withdraw from us with condemnation of us, as no true Churches, nor true Ministers (as the Brownists do.) I answer, you do the same thing they do, though upon different grounds; Now suppose a woman should withdraw from her husband, and joyn to another ordinarily yet not with condemnation of him as no husband, but would now and then keep communion with him; suppose a servant forsake his Master, and joyn to another, yet comes away without railing against him, doth this justify him? But why make you such a businesse of it (as you doe) as to forsake the communion of all Churches, and of all the reformed Churches, and of joyning to Churches only of such a constitution, if you condemned them not? why though you doe not leave them as Antichristian, Babilonish, as false and untrue, yet if you leave such Churches, because impure, defective, under bondage, not of so good a constitution? in this you condemn them, and so are guilty of schisme. I aske of you, if the members of some of your Churches should upon grounds, not because you are false Churches, and false Ministers, but because you are not so pure as some others, nor as they could set up a Church? (as for instance, because wicked men are admitted to pray amongst you, or because the ordinance of Hymnes is not yet settled in all Churches, &c.) forsake and leave your Assemblies, and yet should open and profess they do not condemne your Churches as no Churches, but only to Churches of a purer constitution, or set up a new Church (as Mr. Brown did) whether is this a schisme and separation? do you not hold this unlawful, (especiallie this being without your consents, nay against them (not being satisfied in the reasons and causes of such a departure.) Now if a schisme and separation in some of your members, pray free your selves, in your Reply wash your Churches from this offence, in withdrawing from ours, and answer that *animo*, that *magis & minus non variant verum*, what ever you can say for your departing from us to enjoy further degrees of puritie, or because our Churches are defective in some ordinance, that your members may for themselves, (for according to your own confession in Apologie, pag. 30. you differ little from us and the reformed Churches farre lesse then the Anabaptists or some sort of Brownists do from you) Now then I put this Dilemma to you, whether is it schisme in your members or not? if it be schisme in them, and they may not leave your Churches

in a schisme in you, and you may not forsake ours, but if it be no schisme
 but they may do so, members may still go from one pure Church
 (according to their new light,) then satisfie me where you will
 make a stand? and what is schisme and separation? and whether a
 wide dore be not left open for schisme upon schisme, and se-
 paration upon separation, from your Churches to the Brownists, and from
 Brownists to the Anabaptists, and so *in infinitum*? And let me tell you,
 you who are Schollers have found out these distinctions about our
 Ministers and Ministers, whereby you thinke you save all, and so make ac-
 count you are not guiltie of schisme, (as the learned Papists having distincti-
 ons in the Images, &c. say, they worship not the Images, but the
 God in the Images, &c.) (though the people who do not so well under-
 stand cannot alwaies remember such distinction) worship the verie Ima-
 ges, and that with the same worship as they do God,) so the people who by
 this small and example, had forsaken our Churches, they leave our Churches
 Ministers as not true, they condemne our Churches and Ministers,
 and so at those passages in your Apologie, page 6. and say they tooke
 otherwise, and so they become guiltie of schisme and separation with-
 out distinctions, (though you with distinctions.)

That title of Independencie affixed unto you as your claim, it is well
 known it a proud and insolent title, had I skiled it so in my *Reasons against In-
 dependent government*, it would have beene counted by your side a reviling of
 God, and a casting great reproach upon Christs government; but
 you and the reader a good account for that title affixed unto the
 way and communion that you are of, (and if it be offensive you must
 excuse your selves, & your own partie, and not me:) This Independencie and
 independent government, was a name of your own giving, and sure, I, and o-
 ther lawfullie call the child by the name the father and friends gave
 to speak nothing of the name of Independent government given to par-
 ticular Congregations in manie bookes of the totall Separatists maintaining
 schisme in those words, it will be found in manie printed books and ma-
 ny written by manie men of your way and communion, (namelie of
 the middle way as you call it) who own and call the government of parti-
 cular Congregations Independent, and reason for it under that name. A-
 mong others you shall find it in these books, *Pro-
 fession of Mr. Davenports Profession of
 Faith, Signes Prerogative royall, * A Discourse
 of the nature of Episcopacy, The Answer
 from New-England to Mr. Herles booke against In-*

* Independencie of par-
 ticular Congregations
 pleaded for pag. 170.
 101, 102, 103.

* Every particular Congregation is an absolute Church, having no jurisdiction over it but Christs alone, and that immediate, page 52, 59.

* Mr. Hale
The Independencie on Scriptures, of the Independencie of Churches.
* Rise, growth and danger of Socinianisme, page 65, 66.

dependency, in * *Christ upon his Throne*; and in manuscript not a few, particularlie in a manuscript intituled, *a Treatise about a Church*, (going under one of your names) speakes often of *Independant power and Independent government*. Besides Independent government hath been preached for at *St Margrets Church in Westminster*, and in the *Citie of London* in those words, so that I wonder how you dare make such a flourish; for my part I should never have invented the name, neither would it have entred into my mind, but that it was common in the bookes, manuscripts and the mouthes of men of your way: And that hath been taken so for granted, that not I alone (who might more easily have mistaken) writ against the government of your Congregations under that name, but the *learned and Reverend Divines of Scotland* writ against under that name, (using those termes and phrases often) and the *learned Divines of Holland*, (particularlie *Voetius*) * and a learned and ingenious Divine of our own too, writ against your government under the title of *Independencie* (whole booke contains many passages particularly referring to you the Apologists:) And so * *Mr. Charnell* who candidlie testifies for you, (even when he would free you from being called Brownists) yet saith you be commonlie call'd the Independent Ministers, and doth by way of distinction from the reformed Churches, call your Congregations Independent. But yet further to fasten on you (as you are pleased to stile it, *that proud and insolent title of Independencie*) however that you claime the title here and in other pages 14, 21. yet you acknowledge the thing abundantlie in the book, namelie *a full and entire power, complete in yourselves, untill you be challenged to erre grossely*; and then when you are challenged to erre grosselie, and upon examination and deposition it is proved, yet you will not *subject to any Authoritative, Ecclesiasticall power* out of the particular Congregation, this is the onlie thing in your Apologie largelie, and with any seeming strength insisted upon, and for the examination from that, you have found out the device of *submission and non-commission*, and tell us your solemne practise upon it, with the successe of it: Now what else hath been fastned on you as you claime by them who have writ against your way, but this, did any of the Divines commended by you or did I in my reasons against your government, write in anie other sense but in the point of Ecclesiasticall government and power? did we lay your charge in our writing against Independencie, that you challenge

of all Churches from all subjection and dependance, or rather, that you
 blow a trumpet of defiance against what ever power, spirituall or civill?
 And manie others charge you with *refusing all subjection* to the civill Ma-
 jesty? And for that other dependance of consultation and non-commu-
 nication upon other Churches, the power you give in that kind to Synods, &c.
 I acknowledge it in my eight reason, and argued from
 the power of excommunication; why then do
 you make thus deceitfullie & double, pretending to ab-
 horre and detest *Independencie* as it was objected and plea-
 red against you, when as besides the verie words and phrased found in so
 many printed bookes and notes, you hold all that in the question which is
 the difference betwixt you and the Presbyterians, as also in some of your
 own *Independent and entire power* are *termini convertibiles*, (as in the title
 of the *Prerogative Royall*) (which *entire, full, compleat power, in terminis*,
 is in manie fillables you own more then once in this Apologie,) so that
 your great words of abhorring and detesting the *exemption of your Church*
 from all power spirituall, or civill, will not save you from *Independencie*
 ascribed unto you: As for civill power, it is not the question in contro-
 versie whether was it affixt unto you; and for spirituall power properlie cal'd
authoritative power in manie pages speaking against *authoritative power*
 page 15, 18, 19. And to put you this Dilemma, either you give autho-
 ritative power to other Churches, or you do not, if you do give it, why do
 you make so against it in your *Apologie*, but if you doe not give it, why
 do you make your Reader believe you doe give spirituall power, and
 make against it, is not this doubling and shuffling, and troubling the wa-
 ter, that the Reader cannot tell where to find you, nor what you hold,
 nor what great an evidence of a weake and bad cause, becoming not such men
 as you would be taken for) truth is open and naked, and doth not seeke out
 subtillties and subterfugies. But brethren do not deceive your selves, nor your
 friends any longer, if you be not against spirituall power properlie so called
 in the Classes or Synods, in reference to particular Congregations, what
 power do you by all you say from page 12, to the end of the 19? and of all that
 you say in the Tragedies made by you against the reformed Churches, for
 giving a power to Classes and Synods; and let me intreat you, (that the
 controversy may be brought to some end between you and us) in your Re-
 sponse set down particularlie what you will allow to Classes, Synods, generall
 Assemblies and Councils, in matter of government? and whether that you
 will allow and give *Authoritie* and power yea or no, and what you will not
 allow them, and then state the question so, and I do promise you

Reasons against inde-
 pendent government,
 page 19.

in my Rejoynder to applie my selfe to give you satisfaction (as if you exact Excommunication; Ordination, or what else) to show you the grounds of them, and if we love truth and peace, either you shall win me, or I you.

3. For the odious name of *Brownisme*, together with all their opinions as they have stated and maintained them, must needs be owned by us. I answer, *Brownisme* (as you in these words expresse it) hath not been fastned on you anie that I know, but on the contrarie, you have been commonlie distinguished from them, being called *Independents*, *Semi-separatists*; and in my reasons against *Independent government*, I do in manie passages distinguish you from them; and for all their opinions as they have stated and maintained them, namelie drawing such consequences and conclusions, and going so farre as they, I have often vindicated you, but yet, for all that you cannot justlie free your selves from the odious name of *Brownisme* in most of the fundamentall principles and practises of your Churches, no not with all your Artifices and specious pretences: As the *Brownists* growing up, and out of the *Anabaptists*, did refine and qualifie *Anabaptisme* in manie things, in government, prophecying, &c. So have you refined and qualified *Brownisme* from the grossnesse and rigidnesse of it, as it was held by the first Fathers and Authors of it; (as I could show in manie particulars) you do not go so farre as they, neither are you against some practises of other Churches on those high termes; but yet for substance, from the first stone to the last in departing from our Assemblies and constituting new, you agree with

* A briefe Narration of some Church covenants held in opinion and practise in *New-England*, by W. R.

them (as by a * parrell between the way of your Communion and the Separatists latelie printed doth appeare:) And a word it is evident thus: You agree with the way of *New-England* (as is confest by some of your selves) and we judge so by your high praise of them. Now the Churches of *New-England* agree with them of Mr. *Robinsons Church*, who are moderate and qualified *Brownists*: Now that the Church of *New-England* is the same with them of Mr. *Robinsons Church* is proved thus: The Church at *New-Plymouth* was the first companie that planted in those parts, who coming from *Leiden* where they were members of Mr. *Robinsons Church*, a moderate *Brownist* in his latter time, practised the Church-opinions and waies they formerlie had in *Holland*, and when they of *New-England* went over first (through their conversing with them in the nearenesse or situation) they tooke up and learned their way, (as appeared by these particulars.)

First, *M. W.* an eminent man of the Church of *New-Plymouth*, who by the testimony of *W. R.* that the rest of the Churches of *New-England* at first came to the

to crave their direction in Church-courses and made them
 their pattern.

godlie, Mr. Cotton in a letter to Mr. Skelton one of the first Ministers
 went over thither, writes thus to him, in way of an- Mr. Cottons Letter
 to this Position, that M. Skelton held : *That our Con-* from out of En-
gregians in England are none of them particularly Reformed gland, to M. Skel-
by, but M. Lathrops and such as his. " This errour ton in New-En-
 requires rather a Book thea a Letter to answer it, you gland.

hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your charge hath sprung
 from New-Plymouth men, whom though I much esteem as godlie, loving
 Christians, yet their grounds which for this Tenet they received from
 M. Johnson, doe not satisfie me.

godlie, There is great commendations given to the Church of Ply-
 mouth by M. Cotton after coming to New-England, in his Letter to M. Wil-
 son page 13.

godlie, All the Ministers and Elders of New-England doe affirme,
 that the Churches in New-England, viz. in the Bay, in the jurisdiction of
 Massachusetts, and at Connecticut, are one and the same way in Church constitu-
 tion, government and Discipline without any materiall difference. Now
 can be said more plain? Adde to all these, that I had
 from the mouth of a godlie Minister of the Citie, confer- Ans. to 32. que-
 with one of your precious Ministers about these points, stions, p. 82.

that he went into Holland, and telling him, *This is Brownisme* and *Brown*
ism; what are you a *Brownist*? Your companion and fellow-labourer
 answered him thus: *The way was of God, but the man was nought*, namely

as for those words whereby you would evade the name of *Brown-*
ism. That upon the very first declaring your judgments in the chiefe and fun-

damentall point of all Church Discipline; and likewise since, it hath been acknow-
 ledged, you differ much from them: 'Tis not your saying so will cleare you,

but you had named what that chief and fundamentall point of all Church
 Discipline is, and how, and in what words you declared your judgments;

and to whom: for you might to expresse your selves (as you do in this Apo-
 logie too often) whereby you might deceive the most of them to whom you

declared your judgments: yea manie able Ministers and Schollers (who are
 exercised in your distinctions and reservations) and yet for all the decla-

ring of your judgements, differ verie little from the *Brownists*, except in dif-
 ferent phrases, and and in not deducing such consequences. Let me intreate

you therefore to lie no longer hid under such generals, but in your Replie,
 declare particularlie what you hold the chiefe point of all Church-discipline,

and wherein in that you differ from them: But may I guesse at the chief and fundamentall point of all Church-government and discipline, wherein you declared your judgements, by which you would distinguish your selves from the Brownists: Is it not, that you give the power and authoritie to the officers, and not to the people onlie? I have heard that of late you have declared your selves thus, and the late Epistle before M. *Cottons* booke written by two of you implies so much? But be it so (though I can out of a letter of M. *Bridges*, and from notes and manuscripts show, that seven years agoe the expressions of some of yon were otherwise) yet this will not free you, for M. *Johnson* fell to this, and yet was guiltie of Brownisme for all that. But in this also your principles and your practises are incoherent, and however iu fine words, and flattering similitudes, you dilate upon it in your Epistle to Mr. *Cottons* late booke, yet it comes much to one, the substance of which Epistle I will answer in my Rejoynder to your Replie, or in some thing by it selfe, and will wipe off the paint and guilt, and then the naked counter and rotten post will appeare. As for your *publike profession*, that you believe the truth to lye and consist in a middle way betwixt Brownisme, and that which is the contention of these times, the *Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in all the subordinations and proceedings of it*. I answer, then *Adum de Presbyterio, & de Synodo*: You have determined the cause already, the Assemblie may rise when they please, and need sit no longer, for the truth lies and consists in Independencie, but I suppose, though heretofore, and when you wrote this Apologie, you did so *publikely* professe, and believe the truth to lye in your way (the middle way as you terme it) yet by what hath past since, your height and courage is somewhat abated, and you are not now so peremptorie, and I find now you write in another stile (which becomes you much better) *We humbly suppose, we humbly conceive, again in a humilitie*: But if you be high still, I must tell you your confidence hath deceived you, and your middle way (as you fancie it) (though I must still charge upon you refined Brownisme) will prove like other pretended truths lying in middle wayes, just as the Catholicke and Arminian moderators, *Cassander*, the booke called * *Interim*, and that booke of late times called *media via*, betweene the Papists and Protestants, and betwene the Calvinists and Arminians: And as for the way of your expression of *Presbyteriall government*, I cannot but except at observing that all along oblique, and as farre as you may, you still aspeere that. You can here expresse *Brownisme* simple, without anie additions to it, but you cannot passe by *Presbyteriall government* without a lash at it, which

Keyes of the King
dome of Heaven,
Epist. to the Rea-
der.

* *Schlussel de Ad-
apho. lib. 13.*

the contention of these times, as if you would insinuate the blame of all the
 contentions and stirre of these times to be *Presbyteriall Government*, where-
 the truth is, the contention of these times is *Episcopall*, and your Inde-
 pendant Government, which have caused, and doe continue all the conten-
 tions and stirres in Church and Common-wealth, they mutuallie strength-
 each other against *Presbyteriall government*; and so 'tis still to be ob-
 served, that all along in this Apologie, where you speake of *Presbyteriall*
governments; you state the questions about that, in the highest and utmost
 scope, but of your own Church and way in the lowest, yea lower then
 should (as for instance in 115, 12. pag. about the qualification of Church-
 members) to deceive the Reader with your pretended moderation, and the
 want to possesse the Reader against the *ius divinum* of the *Presbyteriall*
 as for example in this place, *Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in*
the subordinations and proceedings of it: Now the substance and summe of
Presbyteriall Government may be according to Apostolicall Primitive pat-
 terns, and yet all the subordinations and proceedings of it, as it is practised in
 the Church of Scotland, fitted to that Nation and Kingdome, may have no
 like examples: *Presbyteriall government* in some Reformed Church
 as at Geneva, hath not all the subordinations and proceedings as Scotland,
 nor no Kingdome nor Nation; and *Presbyteriall government* in England,
 hath one subordination more then Scotland; and some different pro-
 ceedings in the manner and forme of carrying matters according to parti-
 cular circumstances and occasions of time and place. The Ministers of the
 Church of Scotland, who hold their Church Government to be laid downe
 the word of God for the substance and essentials of it, doe not (as I sup-
 pose) hold that all the subordinations and proceedings, as practised in their
 Kingdome, have a particular rule, either of precept or example: I doubt not
 they well-understand, no whole Nation was converted to the faith in
 the time that the *Acts of the Apostles and Epistles* were written; nor the
 supream Magistrate in anie Kingdome or Nation; and therefore in no one
 Church or Nation where Christians were converted, and Churches planted,
 could not be that formall combination into *Classes*, settled *Synods* or
Assemblies; neither could the supream Magistrate, or a Commissio-
 ner for him be a prime member in their chiefe Assemblies; and so I might in-
 sinue in other particulars; but the Church of Scotland find *Presbyteriall*
 Government in subordinations and appeales; that is Government exercised
 in *Quorther* and Assemblies which consisted of more members then could
 be in our place, and they find Assemblies, where upon cases of difference
 were more members and officers then of one Church (as the *Acts of the*

Apostles.

a *Apostles* shewes fully) and this serves for Scripture grounds to them: Nor then for the manner of ordering of this, according to different Kingdomes Nations or Cities, in fewer or more subordinations; and in the way and manner of proceedings by severall Churches, according to *locall, temporall* and *personall* circumstances, they know well they must goe according to generall rules of the word, to the common lawes of nature and prudence, and so they leave other Churches to doe the like.

Apolog. And had we been led in our former wayes, and our removal out of this Kingdome by any such spirit of faction and division, or of pride and jealousy (which are the usuall grounds of all schisme) Wee had since our returne gaine, during this intermissicall seasons, tentations. yea provocations enough have drawne forth such a spirit; having manifold advantages to make and increase a partie, which we have not in the least attempted. Wee found the spirit of the people of this Kingdome that professe or pretend to the power of godliness (they finding themselves to be so much at libertie, and now come out of bondage ready to take any impressions, and to be cast into any mould that hath but the appearance of a stricter way. And we found that many of those mistis that had gathered about us; or were rather cast upon our persons in our absence, began our presence againe, and the blessing of God upon us in a great measure lessened and vanished without speaking a word for our selves or cause.

Whether all of you, or onlie some of you, were led in your former wayes and in your removal out of this Kingdome by any such spirit of faction, &c. will not enter into your bosomes, nor judge of secret things, I leave you to search your selves, and to give account of your spirits to the Father of spirits; and whether you were led in your former waies, and in your removal out of the Kingdome by anie such spirit, or no, 'tis too evident by what we have fore-mentioned, that a spirit of faction and division, or of pride and jealousy, wrought too much amongst some of you abroad: But though such spirit led you, there are to me and manie others, sufficient visible grounds of your removal out of this Kingdome after you once were out of settled places, as your feare of personall violence, your selfe-love and unwillingness to provide for your selves and yours (what ever became of the publike) your horrible dispaire of comming in again here, or things of this turning in this Land (as you twice expresse it) your great and excessive admiration of the persons of some who were in the Church-way (accounting there were no such men in the world as they) your discontent and anger at the course and harsh usage in casting some of you out of your places (which often times are grounds of heresies and schismes) as I could shew out of ecclesiasticall histories in *Tertullian*, &c. And besides these grounds, if I

of your being led in your former waies and of your removal out of this
 (as your selves make the argument) by your spirit being drawne
 your return in making and encreasing a party, if that will evince
 led formerly by a spirit of faction and division or of pride and
 I know not how you will free your selves, for since your returne
 during this intermysticall season, you have not been idle, nor lost time,
 hold on the temptations, provocations and the manifold advantages
 and increase a party, nay you have not only laid hold on what you
 ready to your hands, namely, the intermysticall season (through so
 great businesse comming in upon the Parliament one upon another)
 the spirit of the people of the Kingdom that professe or pretend to the power
 themselves to be so much at liberty and new come out of
 ready to take any impressions, &c. but you have made and increased
 the making of a party. And I much wonder how you dare speake
 with lesse publicly in print to publish, that you have not in the least
 make and increase a party; and I shall presently make evident in
 this passage, with others of the like nature in the 25, and 26. pa-
 in the spirit of the people of this Kingdom, that professe or pretend to the
 of godlinesse, and especially of the Citie and the adjacent parts, you
 character, together with the ground of it, finding themselves to
 much at liberty, and new come out of bondage; and it is amongst all the
 in your book one of the best; and if the people would well mind,
 consider of it, that they are ready to take any impressions, and to be cast
 they would that hath but the appearance of a stricter way; This might do
 much good, as all the Sermons you have preacht among them since
 returns, and might prove an antidote both against the golden
 poison in this booke, and the principles of your Church-way:
 that we see (by your owne confession) how easily and readilie
 are entertained by the good people of this Kingdome, when as
 may stand without doores and knocke long before opened un-
 even as good Physitians and good right phylicke hath a great deal
 to finde acceptance and admittance among the common-people,
 Mountbanckes and Emprickes are sought unto. As to those
 the finding that many of those mists, that had gathered about
 were rather cast upon your persons in your absence, began by
 presence againe in a great measure to scatter and vanish, without
 a word for your selves and cause. I answer, O happie rate
 powerfull and gracious with the people, whose verie pre-
 without speaking a word for themselves or cause, could doe
 thus

and wherein in that you differ from them : But may I guess at the chief and fundamentall point of all Church-government and discipline, which you declared your judgements, by which you would distinguish you from the Brownists : Is it not, that you give the power and authority to the officers, and not to the people onlie ? I have heard that of late you declared your selves thus, and the late Epistle before M. Cottons booke written by two of you implies so much ? But be it so (though I can out of a letter of M. Bridges, and from notes and manuscripts show, that seven years agoe the expressions of some of you were otherwise) yet this will not serve you, for M. Johnson fell to this, and yet was guiltie of Brownisme for that. But in this also your principles and your practises are incoherent, and however in fine words, and flattering similitudes, you dilate upon in your Epistle to Mr. Cottons late booke, yet it comes much to one, the substance which Epistle I will answer in my Réjoynder to your Replie, for first of all thing by it selfe, and will wipe off the paint and guilt, and then the naked counter and rotten post will appeare. As for your *publike profession*, that *you believe the truth to lye and consist in a middle way betwixt Brownisme, and that which is the contention of these times, the Authoritative Presbyterian Government in all the subordinations and proceedings of it* : I answer, then *Almo de Presbyterio, & de Synodo* : You have determined the cause already, the Assembly may rise when they please, and need sit no longer, for the truth lies and consists in Independencie, but I suppose, though heretofore, when you wrote this Apologie, you did so *publikely* *professe*, and *believe the truth to lye in your way* (the middle way as you terme it) yet by what is past since, your height and courage is somewhat abated, and you are now so peremptorie, and I find now you write in another stile (which comes you much better) *We humbly suppose, we humbly conceive, as in our humilitie* : But if you be high still, I must tell you your confidence hath deceived you, and your *middle way* (as you fancie it) (though I must still charge upon you refined Brownisme) will not hold like other pretended truths lying in middle ways, but the Catholike and Arminian moderators, *Cassander*, in his booke called * *Interim*, and that booke of late times called *media via*, betwene the Papiests and Protestants, and betwene the Calvinists and Arminians : And as for the sense of your expression of *Presbyteriall government*, I cannot but except at observing that all along oblique, and as farre as you may, you shall observe that. You can here expresse *Brownisme* simple, without anie addition, but you cannot passe by *Presbyteriall government* without a lish in it.

Keyes of the King
dome of Heaven,
Epitt. to the Reader.

* Schlüsselb. de Adi-
apho. lib. 13.

of these times, as if you would insinuate the blame of all the
 and stirre of these times to be *Presbyteriall Government*, where-
 is, the contention of these times is *Episcopall*, and your Inde-
 Government, which have caused, and doe continue all the conten-
 and stirres in Church and Common-wealth; they mutuallie strength-
 other against *Presbyteriall government*; and so 'tis still to be ob-
 that all along in this Apologie, where you speake of *Presbyteriall*
 ; you state the questions about that, in the highest and utmost
 but of your own Church and way in the lowest, yea lower then
 (as for instance in 115. 12. pag. about the qualification of Church-
) to deceive the Reader with your pretended moderation, and the
 to possesse the Reader against the *ius divinum* of the *Presbyteriall*
 for example in this place, *Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in*
subordinations and proceedings of it : Now the substance and summe of
Presbyteriall Government may be according to *Apostolicall-Primitive* pat-
 and yet all the *subordinations and proceedings of it*, as it is practised in
 Church of *Scotland*, fitted to that Nation and Kingdome, may have no
 examples : *Presbyteriall government* in some Reformed Church
 in *Geneva*, hath not all the *subordinations and proceedings* as *Scotland*,
 nor Kingdome nor Nation; and *Presbyteriall government* in *England*,
 have one *subordination* more then *Scotland*; and some different pro-
 ceedings in the manner and forme of carrying matters according to parti-
 cular circumstances and occasions of time and place. The Ministers of the
 Church of *Scotland*, who hold their Church Government to be laid downe
 by the word of God for the substance and essentials of it, doe not (as I sup-
 pose) hold that all the *subordinations and proceedings*, as practised in their
 Church, have a particular rule, either of precept or example : I doubt not
 they well-understand; no whole Nation was converted to the faith in
 such a manner that the *Acts of the Apostles and Epistles* were written; nor the
 same Magistrate in anie Kingdome or Nation; and therefore in no one
 Church or Nation where Christians were converted, and Churches planted,
 could not be that formall combination into *Classes*, settled *Synods* or
Assemblies; neither could the supream Magistrate, or a Commissio-
 ner be a prime member in their chiefe *Assemblies*; and so I might in-
 sinue in other particulars; but the Church of *Scotland* find *Presbyteriall*
 Government in *subordinations and appeales*; that is Government exercised
 in Churches and *Assemblies* which consisted of more members then could
 be in one place, and they find *Assemblies*, where upon cases of difference
 were more members and officers then of one Church (as the *Acts of the*
Apostles.

an Apostles shewes fully) and this serves for Scripture grounds to them; then for the manner of ordering of this, according to different Kingdoms or Nations or Cities, in fewer or more subordinations; and in the manner of proceedings by severall Churches, according to local, and personall circumstances, they know well they must goe according to generall rules of the word, to the common lawes of nature and grace, so they leave other Churches to doe the like.

Apolog. And had we been led in our former wayes, and our removal out of this Kingdome by any such spirit of faction and division, or of pride and party, (which are the usuall grounds of all schisme) we had surely our reasons and gains, during this interminuticall season, tentations, yea provocations, we have drawne forth such a spirit; having manifold advantages to make us create a partie, which we have not in the least attempted. We found that of the people of this Kingdome that professe or pretend to the power of god (they finding themselves to be so much at libertie, and now come out ready to take any impressions, and to be cast into any mould that had the appearance of a stricter way). And we found that many of these might be shered about us; or were rather cast upon our persons in our absence, than our presence againe, and the blessing of God upon us in a great multitude, and vanish without speaking a word for our selves or cause.

Whether all of you, or onlie some of you, were led in your former way, and in your removal out of this Kingdome by any such spirit of faction, we will not enter into your bosomes, nor judge of secret things; but we search your selves, and to give account of your spirits to the Father of spirits; and whether you were led in your former wayes, and in your removal out of the Kingdome by anie such spirit, or no, 'tis too evident by what we have fore-mentioned, that a spirit of faction and division, or of pride and party, wrought too much amongst some of you abroad: But though such spirit led you, there are to me and manie others, sufficient grounds of your removal out of this Kingdome after you once were settled places, as your feare of personall violence; your selfe-love and unwise lie wisdom to provide for your selves and yours (what ever became of the publike) your horrible dispaire of comming in againe here, or things turning in this Land (as you twice expresse it) your great and excessive admiration of the persons of some who were in the Church-way (as though there were no such men in the world as they) your discontent; and the course and harsh usage in casting some of you out of your places (as often times are grounds of heresies and schismes) as I could shew out of ecclesiasticall histories in *Tertullian*, &c. And besides these grounds, if I

being led in your former waies and of your removall out of this
 your selves make the argument) by your spirit being drawn
 return in making and increasing a party, if that will evince
 led formerly by a spirit of faction and division or of pride and
 I know not how you will free your selves, for since your returne
 this intermysticall season, you have not been idle, nor lost time,
 hold on the temptations, provocations and the manifold advantages
 and increase a party, nay you have not only laid hold on what you
 to your hands, namely, the intermysticall season (through so
 great businesses comming in upon the Parliament one upon another)
 of the people of the Kingdom that professe or pretend to the power
 finding themselves to be so much at liberty and new come out of
 ready to take any impressions, &c. but you have made and increased
 the making of a party. And I much wonder how you dare speake
 much lesse publicquely in print to publish, that you have not in the least
 to make and increase a party; and I shall presently make evident in
 this passage, with others of the like nature in the 25, and 26. p.
 the spirits of the people of this Kingdom, that professe or pretend to the
 of godlinesse, and especially of the Citie and the adjacent parts, you
 character, together with the ground of it, finding themselves to
 at liberty, and new come out of bondage; and it is amongst all the
 in your booke one of the best; and if the people would well mind,
 of it, that they are ready to take any impressions, and so be cast
 mould that hath but the appearance of a stricter way; This might do
 much good, as all the Sermons you have preacht among them since
 returns, and might prove an antidote both against the golden
 poison in this booke, and the principles of your Church-way:
 we see (by your owne confession) how easily and readilie
 entertained by the good people of this Kingdome, when as
 may stand without doores and knocke long before opened un-
 as good Physitians and good right phylicke hath a great deal
 to finde acceptance and admittance among the common-people,
 Mountabanches and Empricks are sought unto. As to those
 the finding that many of those mists, that had gathered about
 were rather cast upon your persons in your absence, began by
 since againe in a great measure to scatter and vanish, without
 a word for your selves and cause. I answer, O happie rare
 powerfull and gracious with the people, whose verie pre-
 without speaking a word for themselves or cause, could doe
 thus

thus much after a long absence, what will not your speaking and
 ring for your selves then doe? 'Tis well for you, the most
 vants of God in all ages have not found mist that had gathered
 or cast upon their persons to scatter and vanish away so easily, but that
 logies and Defence for themselves and cause, have found them to
 and we find it harder to wipe off the aspersions and mistakes cast
 your side (though for nothing else but for discharging our conscience
 labouring to keepe good people from errors:) But Brethren if it be
 with you (as here you write) what need had you then to write this
 gle to cleare your selves from mistakes (especially having been now
 present in the Kingdom, and resident in the chiefe Citie, having
 of the Pulpits, and being members of the Assemblie) would not the
 den confused noise of exclamations reflecting upon you interpreting
 out the writing of this Apologie have been suddenlie blown over
 fence have dyed by the continued presence of your persons, and
 preaching, &c. as the many mist that had gathered about you in
 by your bare presence, without speaking a word were scattered? But
 your former experience did not teach you to expect the latter, and
 reasoned from that to this, so as to have caused you to have
 King such an Apologie at such a time (as this) upon such an occasion
 den unexpected noise of confused exclamations. But however you
 in the beginning of your Apologie, as the ground of it, yet having
 moved you to that worke, and you have learned like the lawyer to
 furthest off the nest.

Apolog. But through the grace of Christ, our spirits are and have
 remote from such dispositions and aims; for on the contrary we call
 to witnesse our constant forbearance either to publish our opinions by pen
 (although we had the Pulpits yet) or to print anything of our own
 for the vindication of our selves (although the Presses were more
 the Pulpits) or to set for our selves in way; although we have
 the first provoked unto all these all sorts of wayes, both by the common
 standings and mis-representations of our opinions and practices, together
 encitements to this state not to allow us the peaceable practices of our
 ces, which the Reformed Churches abroad allowed us, and these
 calumnies and reproaches cast upon our persons in print; and all these
 med with this further prejudice and provocation, that this our silence was
 preter, that we were either ashamed of our opinions, or able to
 them; when as on the other side (besides all other advantages) there
 been written by men of much worth, learning and authority, who

to pre-possesse the peoples mind against what are supposed say
 and to have and considered it as to be the *pre-possesse* that makes the
 and that the beginning of strife would have been in the breaking up of
 the sad and conscientious apprehension of the danger of rending and
 the party protestant party in this Kingdome that were desirous of Re-
 and of making severall interest among them in a time when there
 of the true state of their nearest union and conjunction, and all this
 of that Reformation intended, and so long contended for, against a
 authority that had both present possession to pleade for it selfe, power
 and had enjoyed a long continued settlement which had rooted in the
 men: And this seconded by the instant and continuall advices and
 of many honorable, wise and goodly personages of both Houses of
 to forbear what might any way be like to occasion or augment this
 difference; They having also by their Declarations to his Majesty
 their endeavour and desire to unite the Protestant party in this King-
 agree in fundament all it with against Popery and other heresies, and
 the respect to tender consciences as might prevent oppression and ineq-
 which had formerly been: Together with that strict engagement
 declared by us for these common ends, with the rest of our brethren
 (which though made so continue but ad placitum, yet hath bin
 And above all, the due respect we have had to the peaceable and
 of this Church and State; the hopeful expectation we have
 with of an happy latitude and agreement by means of this
 and the wisdom of the Parliament: The civillience and considera-
 and the weight of each, have hitherto had more power with us to
 forbearance, then all our owne interests have any way pro-
 to occasion the least disturbance amongst the people, we have and
 to beare all this with a quiet and strong patience; (as we
 which we now speake, or rather shew forth this little) referring the
 as persons to God, and a further experience of us by men, and the
 of our judgments; and what we conceive to be his truth therein, to
 of daily agitation of this Assembly, whereof both Houses were plead-
 and members.

Section are three main things; 1. Your way and carriage of your
 as you returne into England, as not in the least attempting to
 create a party, but on the contrary constantly forbearing
 speaking, &c. to do any thing for your selves and way. The
 you have had from the first, all sorts of waies to have done
 by you the more for our and common good, and your patience and
 bearance.

bearance. 3. The grounds and reasons laid down of your deep silence
forbearance: now all, and everie one of these I will examine, and
Reader and your selves this account following:

For the first of these three, and your expressions in it, above
passages in your Narration, I cannot but admire and wonder what
meant by them, and where your consciences, memories and wisdoms
when you writ them? many passages in other Sections of this Apology
strange for their doubtfull double meaning, and for their untruth, but
passages in this Section were beyond my imagination of you, not only
publikelie to write manifest untruths, and to subscribe to them with
own hands, but to father them on the grace of Christ, and to invoke
Name of God to make him owne them, calling God to witnesse, yea, and
too, to witnesse such untruths, (when as God and men know the contrary
to what you here assert,) I marvaile, none of you, (one at least) but
lentent, and startled at these passages in the first part of this Section,
through the grace of Christ, our spirits are, and have been so remote from
dispositions and aymes, that on the contrary we call God and men to witnesse
constant forbearance either to publish our opinions by preaching, or
first part of this Section, instead of what you write here, may be
written (and I shall presently make it good:) *We since our returne into
Kingdome, having had manifold advantages to make and encrease our
made use of them, and in a great measure attempted it, for through
the grace of Christ, our spirits have had such dispositions and aymes, that
and men can witnesse, our dealing and trading for our opinions and way, by
preaching, & some of us by printing; and many other wayes acting for us
way, so that the conscience and consideration of all the reasons, as the
fear of the danger of rending and dividing the godly Protestant party in
dome, &c. nor the weight of each, have not had power with us to occasion
forbearance, but our own interests have much prevailed with us to occasion
disturbance among the people. Brethren what is this you write in the
how can you write it? Have not some of you, nor any of you, nor any
least attempted to make a party? What have your spirits been so remote
such dispositions and aymes, that on the contrary you call God and men to
your constant forbearance either to publish your opinions by preaching, or
anything of your owne or others; for the vindication of your selves, or
your selves or way? What have you kept a deep silence and forbearance
What have not all your own interests prevailed with you, to occasion
least disturbance amongst the people. As for God, who is called to witnesse
by you, without great repentance for these words, he will be a witness*

Mal. 3. 5. And as for *men*, whom you call also to *witnesse*, I be-
cause therefore being cal'd out by your selves to *witnesse*, I must speak
unto it; and I intreat you blame not me for witnessing and
the truth, declaring what I know, of your preaching, &c. but
your selves who have called me to it: And being thus called, I should
God, and the truth, if I should not speake the truth, and the
truth, (so far as I know and have from good hands informed;) and
will speak nothing but what I believe to be truth: I doe therefore
(to what you call God and men to witnesse unto) charge you
the following particulars.

All of you have not constantly forborne to *publish your opinions* by
way, but you have vented your principles and opinions, by preach-
ing sometimes more generally and covertly, (yet so as our followers un-
derstand you,) and sometimes particularlie and plainelie: In a more ge-
neral covert way, you have done it often, under preaching for puri-
fication of Ordinances, the standing for the Kinglie office of Christ, the be-
coming Church way, the performing of all Ordinances in the due and right
way, &c. wherein you do for your way just as the Malignant Ministers
did against the Parliament and for the Cavaliers, under generalities, by
preaching against Rebellion, and fighting against the King, and rising up a-
gainst him, and for peace, &c. (which the Malignants understand well, &
flock to them upon it;) And so more particularlie, fullie, and
openly, you have preached for your way, for instance, Mr. *Simpson*, (one of
the Apologists,) hath frequentlie, and constantlie (for one space) in manie
of his *Black-friers*, (more especially on that Text, *Psal. 119. 6. Then*
shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy Commandements:)
preached for his opinions and way, and did answer manie objections against
the Church-way, pleading stronglie for it; and for pretended liberty of
conscience and toleration: So on *Fishstreet-hill*, on that Text of *Rom. 12. 2.*
ye may prove what is that good, that acceptable and perfect will of God: he
preached largelie for his Church-way, and propounded and resolved nine
questions about it: And at * *Westminster* also, in
his sermon preached there, he had manie passages
for the Church-way, as for Toleration, as for the
order of their Church, visible Saints, &c.
Another of the Apologists, hath
published his opinions by preaching, and hath
preached for his way at *Mildreds-Breadstreet*, on that Text *Gal. 5. 1.* preach-
ing for the Nationall Churches under the New Testament and for the way
of

* Mr. *Simpson*'s Sermon on
Prov. 8. 15, 16. pag. 16, 27, 28,
29, 31, 33. Sermon called *Re-*
formation Predestination, pag.
25, 26, 27.

of their particular Churches. Mr. *Burroughs*, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in his publicke Sermon at *Easter*, preached for toleration of Sects and opinions (so they were not against fundamentals in doctrine) the fundamentals of civill government: and he hath frequently preached at *Michael Cornhill*, (some of which are since printed) preached their way: besides what he may have preached at *Stegny* and elsewhere, which I have not yet sufficiently informed my selfe as to be able to prove. Mr. *Bridge*, another of these Apologists, in a Sermon at *Westminster* the first yeare of the Parliaments sitting, before manie Parliament men, that, *Mat. 18. Go tell the Church*; but Christ does not send that Church to another Church &c. So in his Sermon before the Honorable House of Commons, (preached a moneth before this Apologie came forth) are severall passages for the Church-way. In his Sermon called *Babylons downfall*, preached before the House of Commons, there are passages for the Church-way, page 14. In *London* also at the Bridge-foot, he hath preached severall times that way; particularly, about the people, beings Gods porters to Ministers into the Church, and how no men come in truly called but in the Countrey too, he hath preached for his way (as I have been informed by a good hand,) both at *Notwich* and at *Ipwich*: But what he hath done at *Tarmouth*, I shall in my Rejoynder give a full account of him there, (being not yet so well prepared for that.) Mr. *Winn*, another of the Apologists, hath preached and published (upon that Text, *Ephes. 22, 23.*) at large, for no other visible Minister Church, but a particular Congregation, with his reasons for it, (though that Text speaks of the Church; *etiam mystico*, and not of an inferior particular Church;) and so at *Westminster*, in his first Sermon, preached before manie of the House of Commons, he had passages of Christs Kingdome and the government of the Church, clearelie for this way, and against Presbyterians. So in his Sermon preached before the House of Commons called *Zerubbabels Encouragement*, there are manie things for the Church-way, page 18, and from page 29 to page 44, (which though they be not yet in the Epistle, before the Sermon it is confessed they be in the way.) As for Mr. *Nye*, he having lived a greater part of his time here, came into *England* in Noblemens families, and in *Torke-shire*, and he preached little in the Parishes here in *London*, I cannot prove that he published his opinions by preaching particularly for them: But Mr. *Nye* hath not acted the State part, and played the politician in

ing in private, under hand, and hand to hand with some
 one for the Church-way, and against the government
 of the Church of Scotland, and particularlie at Hall, (as I have
 said for what I write,) so I appeale to his conscience, and intreate
 in his memory whom he hath conferred with about these points:
 I cannot prove Mr. Nye hath published his opinions by prea-
 ching, Mr. Nye affirming this not onlie for himselfe, but for all the rest,
 not onlie in his own name, but in the name of the other Apolo-
 gists, in call God and men to witnesse our constant forbearance rather to pub-
 lish our opinions by preaching, &c. whether according to that second questi-
 on 14. of this *Antipologie*, is not he guilty also, and may here be
 charged with writing of an untruth. But let me aske you, though you
 have not published your *opinions by preaching*, doe you not under-
 stand preaching in *Pulpits*? (for I find it in the parenthesis referred to
 whether all of you, or some of you have not published your *ope-*
nions by preaching out of pulpits, at Tables, and in Chambers in your Church-
 houses, and in houses where some of you have exercised before supper,
 and company have been invited, (which is an acting for your
 way,) I referre to your consciences to consider of: onely I must
 say that I have it from a sure hand, of no worse rank of men, then of
 some, and of no sleighter sort of witnesse then an eye witnesse, that
 in the Church-way, have been often so preached in houses; and
 therefore, I aske Mr. Bridge, whether it be not so? but if it be answer'd
 no, (for the avoiding this imputation fastned on you) of calling God and
 men to witnesse an untruth, that your words doe not import a totall forbea-
 ring preaching your *opinions*, neither do you mean, that you never prea-
 ched, but a *constant forbearance*, that is, you did for the greater part
 in the constant course of your Ministerie to preach of these points;
 your words cannot beare that sense, neither doth, nor can such a
 sense agree with your words going before and following after, nor with
 the intent of this Section: For the words which go before, *of*
our nature from such dispositions and aims, are in reference to the
 former Section, *not in the least attempting to make and overcase*
any; and for the words following (towards the end of this present
 Section) namely, *this deepe silence and forbearance*, shew not to occasion the
 disturbance amongst the people, and hearing all with a quiet and straggling
 they referre to this passage of calling God and men to witnesse our con-
 stant forbearance, either to publish our opinions by preaching, &c. Now how
 can this silence and forbearance not to occasion the least disturbance a-
 mongst

amongst the people, and a quiet and strong patience to bear all, when as you preach often of those points, though you might oftner forbear? and I say you, whether Sermons now and then preached of the opinions, was not attempting to make an increase a party, and that more then in the least also, whether some Sermons (though but now and then) would not cause the least disturbance among the people? But besides the scope and intention of his whole Section, being to shew that you did not take advantage to make and increase a partie, with the laying down the Reasons and grounds of your forbearance, which are all against such a glosse and sense, the words of a constant forbearance to publish your opinions by preaching, cannot be understood of publishing your opinions now and then by preaching, though you did oftner preach upon other subjects, for preaching now and then would be in the least an attempting to make and increase a party, and preaching now and then could not be a deep silence and forbearance, and Sermons would be the beginning of strife, and would be a means of dividing the godly Protestant party in this Kingdome; Besides, the continuall advises of Parliament men to you, were not that you should for the most part preach of your opinions, but not at all, namely, to *publish what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy division*: your ingagement to the Ministers of silence, was not partial or for the most part not to preach of those points, but it was totall, not to preach of them at all: And further, *Constant forbearance to publish your opinions by preaching*, must have the same construction as it hath in those words, *publish any thing of your own or others, for the vindication of your selves, or defence of your selves and way*: both which (especially that of printing) must necessarily be understood of a totall forbearance; for I suppose you do not stand by those words, *publish any thing*, that you did not print in your bookes of your own, or others, as you could, and might have done, and few books were now and then printed by them for your way, you would not have us put such an interpretation upon that part which concerneth printing; so neither can it be upon that of preaching; and in a word, *Constant* is not a Diminutive, (as such a glosse would make it,) but an Augmentative (as we use to say,) a constant friend, and a constant preacher; and according to this sense, (which yet is against all Grammer, and against the Analysis and scope of this Section) some of you cannot evade, as Mr. *Samuel Burroughs*, Mr. *Bridge*, who in severall Churches, and upon many texts, have frequently, sometimes in generall and more darkly, and sometimes more plainlie and particularlie, published their opinions by preaching: And if any of these Apologists shall in their Reply either

one of the particulars I have charged them with in point of pre-
serving not a publishing their opinions, nor points of of the Church-
in my Rejoynder (God sparing me life and health) print at
the particulars preached by them, and then the Reader shall judge
how little least my Booke should be too great.) *3. 211. 212. 213. 214.*
If you have not forborne to print any thing of your owne, for your
own wayes : For M^r Bridge, M^r Simpson and M^r Burroughs, have
Sermons and Expositions of their own, wherein are severall things
of the Church-way: as is to be seen in M^r Burroughs Exposition on the
10 Chapters of *Hosea*, 1. Lecture on *Hos.* 2. 1. pag. 224, 225. 7. Lect.
11. pag. 173. 5. Lect. on *Hos.* 1. 10. pag. 134, 141. 3. Lect. on
pag. 188. 13. Lect. on *Hos.* 2. 15. and in manie other places of
Expositions, passages are sprinkled for the Church-way. And in
Sermons, called *Reformations Preservation*, on *Isa.* 4. the latter
verse, and on *Prov.* 8. 15, 16. and in M^r Bridges Sermons,
Abrahams Downfall, and that on *Zech.* chap. 1. ver. 18, 19, 20, 21.
If you had whollie forborne printing any thing of your owne, you
would have done it out of policy, and yet your way not have suffered
in manie books, and little Pamphlets having been printed, and reprint-
ed in this Parliament for the Church-way, as amounts to the number (I
of almost one hundred: And I aske of you, whether one or more
have not had a hand in perusing and examining some bookes
or in counselling and consenting to the printing of them,
and some bookes from out of *New-England*, and particularlie
(*Customs.*)

Neither I, nor manie other Ministers, are not satisfied of the truth of
words, *That you have not acted for your selves and way*: which words,
brought in by you, must be understood, of acting, as distinct from
writing and printing, that is, as you have not published your opinions
writing, so you have not by other wayes and meanes acted for your
way: as in making friends, or in moving anie Parliament men,
consulting together what to doe about your way; no, alas good men,
have kept your houses close, and followed your studies hard, and sel-
dom gone to *Westminster*, but have left the businesse of Independencie and
your way to God whollie, leaving him to take care of his own way
and brethren; how dare you write thus? if you have not acted for
your way since your returnes into *England*, and improved your
time, most who know you, are much deceived in you, and strange-
ly misled: And suffer me to deale plainlie with you, I am perswaded,

(that setting aside the Jesuites acting for themselves and way) you five acted for your selves and way, both by your selves, and by your influence both upon the stage, and behind the curtaine, (considering circumstances and laying all things together) more then anie five men have done short a time this 60. yeares: and if it be not so, whence have come all these swarmes and troopes of Independents in Ministerie, Armies, Cities, Countre, Gentrie, and amongst the common people of all sorts, men, women, servants, children: have not you five had the greatest influence to raise those who have wrought so manie Ministers, Gentlemen and people to your way? can it be in Reason thought all this is come about without your influence? your selves and way? is the peoples golden Calfe of Independencie? Exod. 32. 24.

Democracie come out of it selfe, without your influence? And whether you five have not acted for your selves and way since this Parliament? I desire you to answer these questions, according to the truth of those questions, let your consciences judge the truth of these words.

1. Whether came not you over into *England*, and left your Churches in *Holland* with their leave, or rather being sent as *Ambassadors* to negotiate for your way, and for a Toleration of some Churches to enjoy Independent government, that is, a full, entire, compleat power in your selves.

2. When you were come over, did you not in the first yeare of the Parliaments sitting, consult together, and debate about a Petition, and there not one drawne to be presented to the House of Commons for a Toleration of some Congregations, to enjoy a Congregational government.

3. Have you not beene all along from your first coming over into *England*, to the writing of this present Apologie, intent and wishfull to have everie thing in agitation, or about to passe in matters of Religion that might make though but remotely for Presbyteriall government, and might (though but by a remote consequence and at a distance) touch upon or move your Church-way: As for instance, about the time of passing a Bill in the House of Commons against Episcopacie, and of consultation and debate what should be in the interim, till another Government could be set up, were not you zealous and active against that advice and counsell of some number of grave Ministers in each County to be substituted for the sake of your feare of having but a shadow of Presbyteriall government, though but *pro tempore*) and how much you worked in that, with the people, and what the issue of that was, you may remember: So you

(since this warre, of entering into a Covenant) and some
 being advised with, whether did not some of you stand for a clause
 in the Covenant for libertie to tender consciences, and for
 such a clause, (that being opposed by some,) how long it was laid
 I desire you to remember. Again, about the beginning of the As-
 sembly, in the review and examination of some of the Articles of Religion,
 some propounding but some orders to have been agreed on about the
 managing the Disputes and Debates in the Assembly, how tender
 have been of anie thing tending but to Presbyterie, and that might
 but indirectly) reflect upon anie of your Principles.

Have not some of you, (though may be not all) acted for your selves and
 the Church meetings on the Lords day, in private houses prea-
 ching word & administering the Sacraments even in the times of the pub-
 lic assemblies, where besides your own Church members, have resorted to
 meetings manie other persons, some members of Churches in *New-En-*
gland and others belonging to the Church of *England*, and whereas *M. Simpson*
 Minister of a Church at *Rotterdam* (which Church is still there) hath
 since his returne well acted for himselfe and his way, in get-
 ting a rich and numerous Church, consisting of so manie Gentlemen
 and women, rich Citizens, rich Virgins, &c. and hath not *M. Good-*
win acted for himselfe and way, and at least in the least attempted to encrease
 when besides those of his Church at *Arnhem*, that came over from
 there are others here in *London* have gone to his Church meetings,
 there are some, if not actually members (the ceremony may be being
 that it may be said he hath added none to his Church) yet are *Com-*
municants Probationers, members in *fieri*, with their faces to Zion,
 esteemed members actually by them of nearest Relations and Co-habi-
 tants (as I am credibly enformed) but must name none to prevent diffi-
 culties in seere Relations.

Have not some of you, if not all of you acted for your selves and way,
 in speaking and moving some Parliament men to stand for you and
 Toleration of your Church-way, and have you not been answered,
 on your grounds, let us know what you hold, and what you would
 and then you shall see that shall be done which is fitting; and out of
 standing for your selves and way, have not some of you suggested in
 Parliament men, the prejudice of their Parliamentary power, if
 should admit of the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, pleading
 necessity of a Toleration, and in particular I aske *Mr. Nye* if he re-
 such discourses, and that at *Hull* too.

6. Whether have not some of you, if not all, out of acting for your selves and way, hindered all that lay in you, the sending for our brethren *Scotland* to come to our helpe? and whether have not some of you pleaded against sending for them in? and objected (as the Malignants) of the danger of their comming in, &c? and whether in as much as you, did not you so? for your owne opinions and Church-way you would have hazarded the Kingdome, Religion, and all, then the losse of your Independencie, which you knew the *Scots* were averse unto?

7. Whether have not some of you in Conferencies with manie good people, and by discourses in private, acted for your selves and way, by them in the point of a particula^r Church, and in the point of comming to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and by pleading for a Toleration of opinions (that may stand with saving Grace) and doth none of you remember what was answered you? that Poligamie might stand with saving Grace, and must that be tolerated?

8. Whether have not some of you tampered with some Parliament about delaying the meeting of the Assemblie, and suggesting to them of feares about it? and whether in the Assemblie have you not by all possible waies both in opposing some orders of speaking, but some times on one point (the sooner to bring things to an end) and by other waies all you could, delayed the proceedings of the Assemblie, and all this out of acting for your selves and way, that so your partie might increase, and your opinions spread before the Government might be settled.

9. Have not some of you out of acting for your selves and way, favoured the bringing into the Assemblie (since the sitting of it) some independents to be members of it, and upon their being stopped, have not some of you earnestlie dealt with some members of the House of Commons that they might passe their House? and what could this be but out of acting for your selves and way?

10. Whether have not you out of acting for your selves and way, manie meetings and consultations both of writing letters into *New-England* for their helpe and furtherance, and about what you should doe, and to order matters since the *Scots* must be sent for, and since the *Assemblie* could not be hindered, how things might be managed and carried for the advantage of your cause and way? and whether was not this *Narration* one of the Products of your consultations? Now unto this I might adde other *Quæres*, but shall reserve them to my Rejoynder, being sufficient to satisfie you and the Reader: So that laying all this

what did you mean or think with your selves when you writ these
 could you imagine you danced in a net all this time, and that men
 voice of you, or that all had been forgotten that you had done
 or did you imagine your power was so great with the people
 such a name) that all would be taken for truth you writ, or that
 name was such that no man durst question what you had done,
 against your *Apologie*, (or if they did, they should but blast them-
 among the people, and the people would believe nothing against you)
 strange spirit possessed you to write thus? For my part, I fear not my
 (I have learned to trust God with it,) and I dare (by the the Grace and
 Gods Spirit) deale with you, and all of you in these Controversies:
 supposing all you affirme of your selves had beene true; *cujus contra-*
dictum est (as is too evident by what I have proved) that you had
 preached, printed, nor acted personallie for your selves, and way,
 this forbearance might have been not from the grounds and reasons
 by you in this Section, but from other principles of wisdom and
 the more to ingratiate your selves with the Houses of Parlia-
 and to insinuate into their favour, and that you might the better
 in *Apologie* as this, and make use of it to your advantage; at such
 as this, and I judge such considerations have restrained some of you,
 prevailed with you, not to act so much as your fellows, and not so o-
 (notherwise you would) especially knowing & hilst you were in the
 house unseen, the Scene was full, and the Tragedie went on, there
 want of Actors on the open Stage to carrie on your Church-way:
 instance, M.W.M.P.M.K.M.B.D.H.M.L.M.G. M.C.M.B.M.P.M.G.
 S.M.C.M.E.M.C.M.A.M.L. *cum multis aliis*, of whose preach-
 and acting for themselves and way in gathering of Churches, &c. and of
 made by some of them, and printed by others of them: it would fill
 to enuierate particulars, and to declare what hath beene done in
 Countre, Armies, and in all places to make and increase parties, and
 so great disturbance amongst all sorts, as that it will be found
 work to settle the Government of the Church, and to reduce the
 And I confesse, you having such choice of Instruments and un-
 workmen to work by, and to build your Babell, I marvel you conten-
 your selves, with onelie casting the Modell, and giving the pattern
 to others, but that you should appear upon the works your selves
 times you did.)

In your second main part in this Section, the *Provocations* you have had
 to have preached, printed, and acted for your selves both by the

6. Whether have not some of you, if not all, out of acting for your selves and way, hindred all that lay in you, the sending for our brethren in *Scotland* to come to our helpe? and whether have not some of you much pleaded against sending for them in? and objected (as the Malignants doe) of the danger of their comming in, &c? and whether in as much as lay in you, did not you so a^t for your owne opinions and Church-way, that you would have hazarded the Kingdome, Religion, and all, rather then the losse of your Independencie, which you knew the *Scots* were so averse unto?

7. Whether have not some of you in Conferencies with manie good people, and by discourses in private, acted for your selves and way, by stimulating them in the point of a particular Church, and in the point of comming to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and by pleading for a Toleration of all opinions (that may stand with saving Grace) and doth none of you remember what was answered you? that Poligamic might stand with saving Grace, and must that be tolerated?

8. Whether have not some of you tampered with some Parliament men about delaying the meeting of the Assemblie, and suggesting to them doubts and feares about it? and whether in the Assemblie have you not by all possible waies both in opposing some orders of speaking but so manie times to one point (the sooner to bring things to an end) and by other waies all that you could, delayed the proceedings of the Assemblie, and all this out of acting for your selves and way, that so your partie might increase, and your opinions spread before the Government might be settled.

9. Have not some of you out of acting for your selves and way endeavoured the bringing into the Assemblie (since the sitting of it) some Independents to be membes of it, and upon their being stopped, have not some of you earnestlie dealt with some members of the House of Commons, that they might passe their House? and what could this be but out of acting for your selves and way?

10. Whether have not you out of acting for your selves and way, had manie meetings and consultations both of writing letters into *New-England* for their helpe and furtherance, and about what you should doe, and how to order matters since the *Scots* must be sent for, and since the Assemblie could not be hindred, how things might be managed and carried for the best advantage of your cause and way? and whether was not this *Apologues Narration* one of the Products of your consultations? Now unto these I might adde other *Quæres*, but shall reserve them to my Rejoynder, these being sufficient to satishe you and the Reader: So that laying all these things together

whether, what did you mean or think with your selves when you writ these
 things? could you imagine you danced in a net all this time, and that men
 took no notice of you, or that all had been forgotten that you had done
 or preached? or did you imagine your power was so great with the people
 (using such a name) that all would be taken for truth you writ, or that
 your greatnesse was such that no man durst question what you had done,
 or appear against your *Apologie*, (or if they did, they should but blast them-
 selves among the people, and the people would believe nothing against you)
 that strange spirit possessed you to write thus? For my part, I fear not my
 self (I have learned to trust God with it,) and I dare (by the the Grace and
 of Gods Spirit) deale with you, and all of you in these Controversies:
 supposing all you affirme of your selves had beene true, *crjus contra-*
dictum est (as is too evident by what I have proved) that you had
 never preached, printed, nor acted personallie for your selves, and way,
 if this forbearance might have been not from the grounds and reasons
 brought by you in this Section, but from other principles of wisdom and
 prudence, as the more to ingratiate your selves with the Houses of Parlia-
 ment, and to insinuate into their favour, and that you might the better
 make such an *Apologie* as this, and make use of it to your advantage; at such
 times as this, and I judge such considerations have restrained some of you,
 prevailed with you, not to act so much as your fellowes; and not so o-
 penly (as otherwise you would) especiallie knowing & hilt you were in the
 Church-house unseen, the Scene was full, and the Tragedie went on, there
 was no want of Actors on the open Stage to carrie on your Church-way:
 for instance, *M. W. M. P. M. K. M. B. D. H. M. L. M. G. M. C. M. B. M. P. M. G.*
M. W. S. M. C. M. F. M. C. M. A. M. L. cum multis aliis, of whose preach-
 ing and acting for themselves and way in gathering of Churches, &c. and of
 books made by some of them, and printed by others of them: it would fill
 a book to enumerate particulars, and to declare what hath beene done in
 Cities, Countie, Armies, and in all places to make and increase parties; and
 on occasion so great disturbance amongst all sorts, as that it will be found
 hard work to settle the Government of the Church, and to reduce the
 people. And I confesse, you having such choice of Instruments and un-
 der-workmen to work by, and to build your Babell, I marvel you conten-
 ded not your selves, with onelie casting the Modell, and giving the pattern
 and time to others, but that you should appear upon the works your selves
 (often times you did.)

To your second main part in this Section, the *Provocations* you have had
 of *the waiers* to have preached, printed, and acted for your selves both by
 the

the *Common misunderstandings and misrepresentations of your opinions and practises, &c.* I must tell you, I judge, and that upon good grounds, new men laying all things together, *consideratis considerandis*, had fewer provocations, for considering you were but a few in comparison, and going in a new different way from all the Reformed Churches, and the destructive of your Principles to Reformation, with the danger of them, in drawing away and stealing our sheep from us, and the contempt of our Ministerie (occasioned by your principles) among all the people generallie of your way, as also your leaving the Land in the greatest need; notwithstanding all these and manie more that all the godlie Ministers of Citie, and Countrey, should carrie themselves towards you with that love, respect, faire brotherlie kindnesse, as they did, might have provoked you indeed, but in another way then you expresse it: And for the truth of this, I appeal to your own breasts, and to the knowledge of my brethren, and to these following demonstrations, 1. There was a great deale of loving respect and faire carriage towards you, both in admitting you into their Pulpit and in forbearing all things offensive to you, and your partie before their Sermons, to gratifie you. 2. There was a great deale of faire respect to you in admitting you into their Societie, and publike meetings about the matters of Reformation. 3. There was a generall silence by the Godlie Ministers, (I feare unto sinfull) in forbearing preaching against your points and that when some of you preached for your way, and manie Pamphlets were printed for it. 4. The Ministers suffered some of you, and no waies interposed to hinder you from being the universall Lectures of the Citie who if they had appeared against you might have crossed it. 5. The Ministers courted you by all waies of respect, and of high entertainment of you in loving speech, friendlie countenance, familiar conversing with you, giving you the right hand of fellowship, and in a brotherlie entreating you, not to appeare for your way, that so our differences might not hinder the worke of Reformation; withall promising you when they had obtained the Reformation desired, they should be readie to gratifie you as they could, and to consider you as godlie Brethren. 6. Upon the Proposition and motion of silence about the points in difference, the Ministers were most readie and willing to enter into a strict engagement with you and that though some of your way had been before hand with them in setting your principles amongst the people. 7. There hath been much readiness expressed towards you, and readinesse of yeelding to you all along (the more to win you, to prevent an open breach, and to stop peoples mouthes) and particularlie in the Assemblie of Divines, where that

long-suffering, forbearing, hath been exercised towards you, in often and long speaking upon points, in speaking the same things over and over againe, &c. as would hardlie have been towards anie others, and you truely speake it, manie of our Ministers have not carried themselves towards one another with that love and respect as they have done to you. Our Ministers have in honour preferred you before themselves, and have been contented (in a good sense) to let you increase and they to decrease, and could be so contented still for Gods glorie and the good of the Church. But I will particularlie answer to your Provocations here alledged, and shew you that they were no Provocations to have caused you to increase and increase a partie by preaching, &c.

For the 1. *the common misunderstandings and misrepresentations of your opinion and practises* was not a sufficient provocation to preaching, &c. 1. because many of those missts were scattered by your presence againe without speaking word for your selves or cause, and therefore needed not neither preaching, nor acting for your selves and way. 2. You may justlie blame your selves, for the mis-understandings of your opinions, and practises, carrying them so in the darke, and putting off from time to time a review of your opinions and waies (though so earnestlie desired by the Ministers, and you sent unto so solemnlie for it, as also promised to do often,) so that it was no fault at all in the standers by to misunderstand or mistake some things in your opinions and practises (especiallie being new, strange, and hidden too.) 3. Although you speake thus, that your opinions and waies were mis-understood, and mis-represented (that one of your usuall Artifices to delude with, and to keep off arguments brought against you) yet I do not know anie opinion or practise of yours mis-understood and mis-represented, I know none that was written down, or father'd on you, but what was either to be found in some of our Manuscripts, &c. (but of this, I have spoken before.)

For the second Provocation, *the Incitements to the State not to allow you any practises of your Consciences, which the Reformed Churches abroad have, and these edged with Calumnies and reproaches cast upon your persons*, I suppose in this, you mean that booke written by me, entitled *Reasons against Independent Government, and against the Toleration of Heresies*, presented to the House of Commons; for as for anie other booke of mine, I remember none, besides you commend the other bookes written against your way and Tenets, page 15. Now that booke gives Reason and Grounds for what it writes against, and you should have done so (either anie one of you, or all of you) to have answered it, and had you

you shewed those Reasons to have been weake and unjust, then there has been some colour for you to have made that a Provocation, to have acted for your selves and way, but by your silence you seem to give consent to what was written against you. But however (though I writ both against your Government, and the Toleration of it in this Kingdome,) yet not against the *peaceable practises of your Consciences*, but the unpeaceable practices of them (as you would order matters in *England* :) For I spend some leaves in that booke to allow you the peaceable practise of your consciences, and chaulked you out a way, even with the saving of your principles (for which you have cause to thanke me.) As for my *intendment to the State*, it was not to persecution against you, for

* Pag 42.

on and a Toleration: As for that passage, *which the Reformed Churches abroad allowed us*; I have already answered that at large in my former booke, and I will here adde another Answer to those I gave then; the Reformed Churches abroad might as well allow you the libertie of your consciences there, then the State can; for there being strangers, you and your Churches looked for nothing else, you looked not to enjoy the privileges of offices, places in Church and Common-wealth; not to be in the rank of States, Burgomasters, &c. but here in *England* you Independents will look for the like privileges that others enjoy, as to be Majors of Townes, chosen Burgesses and Knights for Parliament, &c. whereby you will have mightie influence and advantages to countenance and promote your way and make parties everie where (which must needs be of dangerous consequence to this State.) Now for those words, *and these edged with calumnies and reproaches cast upon our persons in print*. I answer, let the whole booke be perused, and let the Reader judge if the first part of the booke consisting of the Reasons against Independent government be not whollie argumentative, (containing nothing personall, but rationally,) and for the second part the Reasons against the Toleration, let it be examined whether that be rationall also, and in manie pages as full of yealding and sweetnesse as can well be with the keeping of peace and truth, and could be expected in the difference of judgement. And whether also I give not in severall passages of that booke to Ministers of that way, due respects, and fitting terms, only one page of the booke in inswring a popular Reason of yours for a Toleration against Toleration (which I had from one of your own mouths) I give

Reasons against Toleration,
pag. 37, 38, 39.

a popular answer suitable to the Argument, (but to a

Reasons against Toleration,
page 49.

william

other foule or railing language.) 2. I named you not, but spake as
 one of your Ministers, why do you then appropriate it to your selves?
 truly speak it, that for one of you five to whom application is
 more especiallie of some thing there written, I did not so much as
 intend him, but do openly acquit him, and disclaime it. I denie
 those words or phrascs in that booke, spoken of those persons I inten-
 ded to, are calumnies, there is not a word but is true, and manie can
 witness so much, (who yet with the passage had been left out, be-
 cause all pretence of exceptions and cavill against the booke had beene
 away,) and for the reproaches you speak of, (which are a matter of
 fact) they are rather upon the opinions and principles, then the persons,
 and are taken from the persons from the opinions and principles received; And
 on my own part, I never wished that passage had been left out: for I know
 that, but when people fall into a way, because of the pretence of the
 holinesse and grace of the men of that way, when those be the Argu-
 ments to take and deceive the people, but it is the duty of him who would
 shew from the error of that way, to shew the contrary effects (if he can,)
 what did I doe more?

In the third provocation, *all these heightened with this further prejudice*
that our silence was interpreted, that we were either ashamed of
our answers or able to say little for them. I conceive that in this you may aime
 (as in the former) and I ingenuously confesse that your silence in not
 answering bookes, and particularlie mine, was interpreted so by me, and I
 spoken to some, and spake it (even while it was given out by some
 that should be answered,) that you would not answer it for two Rea-
 sons. 1. Because you were not yet willing to make knowne your opini-
 ons that you held, and what not, (the answer to which book would ne-
 cessarily have drawn out what you were not then willing to speake, nor
 to do in this Apologie.) 2. Because being accounted Schollars, if you
 should answer it fullie, and to purpose, you would rather loose then gain,
 the word, I thought you could not answer it satisfyinglie, neither were you
 willing to impart your opinions publikelie, so as they might be fastned on,
 as these are your opinions, so that considering how readie you have been
 to dispute, and with the people (whom you might probablie gain) to vent
 your opinions, speaking where you should have been silent, and being silent
 where you have been desired by the Ministers (who understand controversies
 as well as your selves) and never answering anie books written against your
 opinions, now laying downe neither in writing, nor by printing what you held
 on your grounds in a Scholasticall way, did give me and manie others

cause to interpret that kind of silence and reservednesse, to spring either from your being ashamed of your opinions, or from being able to say little for them: And if you answer not this *Antapologie*, I shall be like enough to interpret your silence, that either you are ashamed of some of your opinions, or able to say little for them.

For the fourth provocation, *When as on the other side (besides all other advantages) bookes have been written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation and strength, to preposse the peoples minds against what are supposed our Tenets.* I answer, 1. You should have done well to have named what all other advantages our side had of you which might have provoked you to preach, print and act for your selves and way: You contended in the last Section, page 24. *You had manifold advantages to make and create a party:* But I know not what advantages were on our side, or if we had, that they were taken by us against you, whereby you have any ground to set out your patience in not being provoked. 2. You should have done well to have answered the books, *written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation and strength;* (though you insinuate not mine) and no man would have blamed you for that, but all men expected it, and blame you rather, for declining all those waies of disputes, and stating the points in difference between you and the Ministers, and dealing in popular waies, and under-board with the people, who were ready to take any impression, and to be cast into any mould that had but the appearance of a stricter way. 3. If the bookes written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation and strength, were but against your supposed Tenets, (you say) and not your Tenets indeed, you not being named, nor performed in them, this was no such provocation to you to publish your opinions, preaching, printing, and to act for your selves or way: A cleare conscience might have sleighted them, and ingenuous men might in a few leaves, have clearlie disclaimed all those points as not holding them, and there had been an end of all controversie. 4. I cannot let passe under this fourth provocation, that expression of yours, *against what are supposed our Tenets,* a manifest artifice of you and your followers, that when any thing is written strongly against your way, which you know not how, nor never mean to answer, you put it off with this, The question is mistaken, we hold not so, we hold otherwise: the answer you have given to all our books written by men of much worth; &c. the way the Arminians used to put off the learned answers to their books, and the Tractates written by our Divines against their opinions, a verie Jesuiticall device, and most unworthy of men professing science and pietie, (in which expression of Jesuiticall, I intreat the Reader

I will take me, as if I cal'd the Apologists so, or would ranke them in
 of Jesuites, no I intend not that at all, but meerlie to shew this
 faire, as being the practise of Arminians and Jesuits, and so be-
 good men, as I judge the Apologists are. But let the Reader judge,
 be thought, that all the bookes written since this Parliament by men of
 worth, learning and authority; with moderation and strength, should be
 you, upon supposed Tenets? that they should all fight with their own
 and set up a man of cloutes, and beat him with strength, to sup-
 you to hold such Tenets which you do not; what an imputation is this
 all who have written on these points? how does this impie a contra-
 in the words and expressions used by your selves? that they should
 of much worth, learning, &c. and yet write against what are supposed
 : this argued not much worth, nor strength in them; and suffer me
 indicate those worthie men who have written of late against Inde-
 pendence, and for combined Presbyterie and Synods, that they write not
 what are supposed your Tenets, but what are your Tenets really: Can
 be thought that the learned Divines of Holland, as Mr. Paget, who being
 with Mr. Davenport, Mr. Hooker and others of your way upon the
 in manie Conferences, and afterwards writ a book on purpose upon
 points, should write against supposed Tenets, and that the most learned
 living in Holland, and have spoken with manie of your way, yea
 some of you (if I mistake not,) and writing so latelie upon these
 upon the occasion of the newnesse of the controversie, should so
 : or that the two Reverend and learned Divines of Scotland, setting
 books chiefelie upon the occasion of your dissent; (the first Divine
 been in England so long in the first yeare of the Parliaments sitting,
 having had discourse with some of you upon the points, and the later
 of London, being so able a man, and so well versed in the controversie)
 should conspire to prepossesse the peoples minds against what are supposed your
 : But if all these should have mistaken, that yet one of your owne Di-
 vines who writ more latelie with much learning and ingenuity (as your selves
 say) and your Licenser too, should fasten upon you supposed Tenets,
 strange: But the best is, we have your selves confessing in the 15.
 of your Apologie, that these Divines of Holland, Scotland and En-
 have written against your Tenets and government, directly, setly and
 throughly: and how could Mr. Herles booke against Independencie be
 with much ingenuity, if he had prepossessed the peoples minds against
 supposed your Tenets, but are not so indeed: And however, though
 my selfe, nor my booke against Independent government are not in

the number of the men and books of *much worth and learning, written with moderation & strength*; yet it is probable those Reasons against Independent government and Toleration, troubles you as much as anie other book written, and may be more aimed at by you in this passage then other books, and therefore; to free my selfe, I have not asserted anie thing in that book: your Tenet; but what I have good reason to believe you have held: and can produce it, either as your known practise, or out of some Manuscript that goe under some of your names; or from your own mouthes, or from intimate familiars of yours: so that unlesse according to your second great principle in the 10. page, you have altered and retracted within these last yeares what six or seven yeares agoe you held, the peoples minds have been *prepossest* by me with what are *your supposed Tenets*, but with your real Tenets: and I desire you in your Replie, to give anie instances to the contrary: And that neither I nor others may not write against your *supposed Tenets* anie longer, I do beseech you for the glorie of God and the peace of the Church, to set down positively and plainly all your Tenets, wherein you differ from the reformed Churches and the Reformation like to be settled: and that with the grounds of them, or without the grounds, (if your other occasions will not allow you time;) and I do promise you by the help of God, in a short convenient time (without anie thing personall or matter of fact) to give you a direct answer from Scripture and reasons grounded thereupon, whereby we may understand one another the better, and bring this sad controversie between brethren to an end the sooner. 5. We, who have written anie thing against your way, have not so much prepossest the peoples minds against *your Tenets*, as laboured to dispossesse them: we have all played the after-game too much, you the fore-game; you and your party have *prepossest the peoples minds* with your principles, and have fill'd the tie and Kingdome with your *Tenets*, and you have been on the *prepossest hand*, filling manie Parliament mens eares, and the peoples minds against Presbyteriall government, and instilling into them, things but supposed against that government, (as not giving enough to the power of the civil Magistrate: &c.) It would grieve an ingenious and conscientious man, to see where ever one comes, how manie good people of the Kingdome are *possessed* by being prejudiced against Presbyteriall government, that it will be worse then the Hierarchie, and more tyrannicall to the consciences and liberties of the people, with such like: There was therefore, and is now need to cast out these Devils, and to unpossesse the people possessed; and preaching, conference and writing, to preserve such who are not yet possessed, and to *prepossest* them with truth, because such is the nature of your error.

hitherto few who take hold of them ever returne; like Goodwin
that if a ship once strike upon them, there is no fetching her
or as poison, which is hardlie expelled, if once it be diffused through
the body.

For the grounds and reasons of your pretended *deep silence*, and for-
bearing of venting your opinions to the multitude, I grant they are well sum-
med up by you, and I wish they had wrought as well with you to a *deep si-
lence and forbearance*; but what ever you say of the conscience and consideration
of these, and the weight of each, to have had such a power with you hitherto,
contrarie hath been proved, and I am readie yet further to make it
good; and will upon your Replie to this Answer say a great deale more.
Now I must come to examine each of your grounds apart; which you say
ought upon you not to attempt in the least to make a partie or to act
your selves or way.

But we knew and considered, that it was the second blow that makes the
wound, and that the beginning of strife, would have been as the breaking in of
war, and the sad and conscientious apprehension of the danger of rending and
dividing the godly Protestant party in this Kingdome, that were desirous of Re-
formation, and of making severall interests among them, when there was an abso-
lute necessity of their neereft union and conjunction, &c.

In answer, It is spoken like an Oracle, and might indeed have wrought
in you to a burying of your opinions, to a totall forbearance of them for
ever, and to have spent your time in a conjuring all the Ministers and peo-
ple your way, not to have spoken a word, nor to have appeared in the
street for those points till the Reformation intended had been effected; but
whether, was it practised by you as well as it is here spoken? I beseech you,
in your consciences answer, and in coole blood, (laying aside all particular
interests, passion, prejudice,) consider whether it be not by your meanes, or
by some of you more especieallie who writ this, that the godly Protestant par-
ty of this Kingdome desirous of a reformation, is rent and divided, and have seve-
ral interests among them in a time when there was an absolute necessity of their
neereft union and conjunction, and all little enough to effect that Reformation
intended: Have not some of your Sermons? have not the practises of some
of you in assembling in private houses, and in the gathering of manie to
your Churches? have not your discourses and conferences with some Mini-
sters and well affected people upon your points? (with manie other things
I could name) been a great cause of rending and dividing the godly
Protestant partie, and of much distracting them, and of making severall in-
terests? Whence have come all the rents and divisions (to speak of) in
the

the godly Protestant partie, all the lets, stops and delays in the intended Reformation, but from you and by occasion and means of you? The authority of your names holding these opinions (having the reputation of Schollars, and of excellent Preachers,) whereby you are cryed up of many, and so much followed; your interest, and favour in too many considerable persons have drawne so much; had it not been for your sakes, these troubles and divisions had never come to this head, there had not been that continuance, nor such delays of settling government, &c. most of the rest of your way were in comparison contemptible both for name and gifts, and could not have done that hurt; and why then, in a time (by your own confession) of absolute necessity of the nearest union and conjunction, and all last enough to effect that Reformation intended, and so long contended for against a common adversary, that had both present possession to plead for it self, power to support it, and had enjoyed a long continued settlement, which had rooted it in the hearts of men, have you done so much by preaching and acting to rend and divide the godlie Protestant partie? there was no absolute necessity just at that time when you did preach and stirre for your way, for you to have done so; affirmatives though they do bind *semper*, yet not *ad semper*, these were greater truths in doctrine and in Reformation of government, which you might have preached on for that time, but there was an absolute necessity of the nearest union and conjunction: I heartlie wish, this first reason and ground deeplie laid to heart by you, and then I know you must greatly repent for what you have done in this particular, since your returne into England; and had not Good been, and were he not the more gracious, and better to us then ordinarie, your carriage, and what hath been by your means, would have spoiled our Reformation, and hath done much to keep the common Adversary in his present possession, and long continued settlement: but I pray God humble you for it, and forgive you; and seeing you know and considered, that it was the second blow that makes the quarrell, and that the beginning of strife would have been as the breaking in of waters, why were you not contented with the giving of the first blow, and the first occasion of the quarrell, both by your former preaching and practising, but to adde this second great blow, the writing of this *Apologeticall Narration*, which though it be not on your parts the beginning of strife, yet it will prove as the breaking in of waters, and as the kindling of a fire, not likelie to be put out in haste.

2. And this seconded by the instant and continuall advices and conjurations of many honourable, wise and godly Personages of both Houses of Parliament, to forbear what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy

They having also by their Declarations to His Majestie, professed endeavour and desire to unite the Protestant party in this Kingdome, that in fundamentall truths against Popery and other heresies, and to have that tender consciences as might prevent oppressions and inconveniences which formerly been.

Iudge this ground fconding the former, should have been powerfull upon you to a deep silence and forbearance, everie particular branch of it strongly to you, to forbear what ever might anie way be like to occure, or augment this unhappie difference; Nay almost everie word in it, argument to command, *The instant and continuall advices and conjurements of many honourable, wise, and godly Personages of both Houses of Parliament* what might not all these have wrought? and then take in also, that by their Declarations to His Majesty, &c. and that they would have tender Consciencies; Now what could we have wished more, or better securitie for your selves and way: A man would think all these have commanded you not to have acted for your selves and way, to maintaine your fault was the greater in doing contrarie, and you are more inexcusable, had not this seconded the former, yet your knowledge the first was enough to have taken ingenuous spirits, but this seconding the first, it is too bad that you went contrarie to the instant and small advices, and conjurements, of many Honourable, wise and godly Persons of both Houses of Parliament. As for those passages inserted in this the Parliaments Declaration to His Majesty, professing their endeavour and desire to unite the Protestant partie in this Kingdome that agree fundamentall truths, and to have that respect to tender consciences, wherein would insinuate that the Parliament had put you in some hopes of a pardon, and that grounded upon some passages in their Declarations, I named what Declarations speake so, I could have perused and examined them and have returned you an answer (I question it not) from the heart and sense; but to put it out of doubt, that the Parliament intends toleration, in such words as having respect to tender consciences, &c. I refer you to the first and great Remonstrance and Declaration of the House of Commons, wherein they declare the contrary, and ingage themselves to the Kingdome against it, answering to that as a Remonstrance of the state of the kingdome. Printed 1641.

They insuse into the people that we mean to take away all Church-government, and leave every man to his own fancie for the Service and Worship of God, absolving him, of that which he owes under Gods to His Majesty, whom we know so bound

ed with the Ecclesiasticall Law as well as with the temporall, to regulate all members of the Church of England by such rules of Order and Discipline as are established by Parliament, which is his great Councell in all affaires both Church and State: And we do here declare, that it is farre from our purpose to desire to let loose the godden reynes of Discipline and Government in the Church to leave private persons, or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole Realm a Conformity to that Order which the Lawes enjoyne according to the Word of God: And we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of unlesse and superstitious Ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a generall Synod of the most grave, pious, learned and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted with some from forraigne parts professing the same Religion with us, who may consider of all things necessarie for the peace and good Government of the Church, and represent the results of their Consultations to the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the Kingdom. And so I refferre you to Declarations both of Lords and Commons about Uniformity in Church-Government, Worship, &c. intended by them. And for the words as you expresse them here, respect to tender Consciences, might prevent oppressions and inconveniences which had formerly been; they interpret themselves, implying a taking away the Ceremonies and other offensive things, and a not enforcing and injoyning Subscriptions to all points in matter of Order and Externall Government, as had formerly been: but as for Tolerating different Churches, and a different forme of Church-Government to be publikely exercised, besides the established, as I do not believe that to be anie part of their meaning in their Declarations, so the words are expresse against it in the first remonstrance, and in some later Declarations; besides that the Parliament well knowes a Toleration would bring in greater inconveniences to tender Consciences then can at first be imagined, and would prove a farre greater mischief to the Church and to Reformation both in Doctrine and Government, then it can be picipall.

3. Together with that strict ingagement willingly entred into by us for the common ends with the rest of our brethren of the Ministry (which they made to continue but ad placitum, yet hath been sacred to us:) As for the third ground alledged by you for silence, it prevailed no more with us then the former: for notwithstanding this strict ingagement, even at that time, you have both preached, and printed for your way,

Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridge, M. Symphon, and M. Goodwin, and manie of the per-
 fore-mentioned have been preached since that agreement, so that
 it hath not been so sacred to you as you would make the Reader be-
 lieve. But if you answer, you understand that engagement entred into
 by the Ministers was sacred to you, and so observed as long as the agree-
 ment lasted, but the particulars instanced in preached by you were since
 the agreement ceased by mutuall consent: I answer, your words, and the
 reason for which they are brought joyned to the precedent passages re-
 quire silence, and forbearance till the time of putting forth this Apolo-
 gicall Parenthesis, which though made to continue but ad placitum, im-
 poses much, that though you were at libertie, yet you tooke not that li-
 bertie. But secondlie, I must mind you that the ground-work laid by you,
 which you would the more commend your own silence, and moderation,
 that the agreement to continue but ad placitum was not so, for it was a
 promise, it should continue till both sides in a full meeting did declare
 otherwise, and in case one side did transgresse by preaching, &c. none of
 the other side should take libertie to do the like, till the companie was ac-
 quainted with it, and the thing proved, and the matters of difference not
 taken up, the agreement thereupon was declared to be null, wherupon
 some men included, and particularlie named at the agreement were
 named of in a full meeting to have transgressed the agreement, yet it
 continued notwithstanding some breach on the Independent side,
 in reference to the publike union against the common enemy, and for those
 ends, which was the first ground of it. 3. I desire it may be con-
 sidered of by M. Burroughs, M. Symphon, and M. Bridge, whether some passages
 of their Sermons and Expositions about the Church-way, will
 be calculating the time when they were preached, and the time of the
 agreement for silence, (namelie before the formall Declaration of the
 companie in a publike meeting, that the agreement ceased, and that everie
 man was left to his formall liberty) be found to be preached within the
 compass of the time, even before the mutuall strict engagement was decla-
 red null: And because you here give the occasion, by making this mutuall
 engagement between you and us one great ground of your *deep silence*,
 and intollible, and impartiallie (to my best remembrance) relate that
 the continuance of the agreement of the Ministers for silence, the truth of
 many Ministers then present upon the place can testify also: The
 desires of both sides, both they and we desirous of Reformation in
 the Government, and Worship, being sensible how much our differen-
 ces and divisions might distract the Parliament, and hinder the taki-

of Episcopall Government, and the Reformation intended, in a full and free meeting consulted together upon waies to prevent it, and by vote agreed upon these: 1. That the Godly Ministers of the City and Country should continue the use of some part of the Liturgie (namely, what was best, and least offensive,) because they found that the Bish-ops fought under that Banner, and made use with the Gentry and body of the common people to wrap up themselves in that, suggesting that the Parliament would take away the Common Prayer Book; (which they made use of to save their own standing and to worke their own ends the better.) And M. *Goodwin* ingenuously confessed that he judged the moderate use of the Lyturgie in this juncture of things, and for a time, conduced much to the Reformation aimed at, and were his Principles as ours, that any prescribed Prayers might be used, he would use it, (and saving his Judgement about Lyturgies) his vote was to use it, whereupon there being such a generall concurrence of Judgment among the Ministers, some one or two Ministers in the City who were taken notice of wholly to disuse it, and to have laid it aside in all Administrations, were sent unto from the Company of Ministers (and one of them came presently to whom the sence of the Company was represented, and he dealt with them to take it up again, and to use some part of the Prayers in the Lyturgie, especially in the Administration of the Sacraments. Secondly, the Ministers finding that the preaching of some Lay-men, Tradesmen, and Mechanicks in the publike Congregations, was a great stone of offence in the building of the Temple, a way was agreed upon by the Ministers to deale with them, and to take them off that practise; and some of the Company (judged to be most gracious and powerfull with them) were chosen by the whole to deale with them, and to acquaint them with the sence of the Ministers, and some grown against their practise, especially at that time (though the Company of Ministers who sent, declared formally their judgement against the practise at all times.) Thirdly, A mutuall silence was agreed upon for both sides both in preaching, printing, and conferring with the people, (and especially Parliament men) of any of the points in difference between us, but yet that both they and we should joyn together to preach against the *Anabaptists* and rigid *Brownists*, which these Apologists promised, only they desired first to bring in a Narrative to us of all their opinions that they held in difference, (which also they promised with all convenient speed, in a short time should be brought in, and then they would preach against them;) Now for the better keeping of the agreement, and understanding one another, for preventing mistakes, and differences amongst us, a Committee was chosen out of the Company, some of them, and some of our side to draw up the points

writing, which was accordingly done, and the Agreement under the
 of both sides for our part was to be left with M. Calamie (at whose
 we met,) that so if any difference did arise, or complaint come, we
 were to the writing drawn up between us, and accordingly doe:
this strict engagement entred into by you with the rest of your brethren in
consent for common ends, brought by you here as one great ground of
 attempting to make a party, and of your deep silence and forbearance, no
 thing that ever was done by you was more advantageous to your side;
 the increasing of a party, (which indeed proved as it was feared it
 was by my selfe and some others objected as a ground against a
 agreement, for look what came of the Declarations set out by the
 (by means of the Bishops) that in the Arminian points there should be
 a sides a totall silence in preaching, and printing, (namely, a greater
 of the Arminian points, and spreading of them, but a suppressing
 of the Orthodox) so fell it out here, for by that means nothing was pre-
 ained printed against their way to hinder the growth of it, but in the
 many things were preached and printed for it, our side made con-
 of the promise, and forbore totally preaching and printing: For
 part, though for many Reasons I desired to have been excepted
 the agreement, as being engaged by a former promise in print to set
 some Tractates against their way, and never did formally pro-
 nounce, yet because my brethren undertooke for me (for without my
 consent to print and preach, they would not have yeelded to the Agree-
 ment that I might not be singular, and go against the Judgment of all my
 brethren (though my Judgment was against the promise of silence upon
 it) I evidently foresaw would follow upon it, the advantage they would
 by it to encrease a party) and that I might not be guilty of hindering
 common ends held out, I did totally both in preaching and printing de-
 all those points of difference, and notwithstanding I heard and knew
 some of their side preached contrary to the agreement, yet all that time
 it was openly declared in a full Assembly the agreement was broken,
 I declared I would be at freedom, and some of them said the like, I pre-
 not upon those points, whereas in this time many of their way preached
 their way both in City and Country, and some who by name were spoken
 the agreement (as M. P. and M. W.) besides books were printed too in that
 way for their way, as M. Cottons answer to M. Ball about Forms of Prayer,
 in Church Catechisme, &c. In a word, in the whole carriage of that bu-
 ness they were too hard for us by their policy and subtilty, for whereas a
 small silence was agreed upon both in preaching, &c. and that out of

hand they should bring in a Narrative of their opinions wherein they differed from us, and then should joine with us in preaching against the *Baptists* and *Anabaptists*, they never brought in their Narrative till this day, and though at full meeting of the Ministers, they have beene spoken unto, and some Ministers have been sent from the Companie to some, or one of them, and the Narrative was promised at such a time, and then at such a time, yet it was never performed, and whereas the agreement in writing for our Narrative was left in M. Calamies hand, M. Nye comes after some time to M. Calamie and pretends some reasons for to borrow it for a while, but after he had it he carries it away into Yorkshire, that so upon occasions of complaints of the breach of the agreement, when we would have consulted with that, it was gone, and M. Nye keeps it till this day, and having been moved to restore it, his answer is, it is at Hull amongst other papers.

4. And above all, the due respect we have had to the peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State, the hopefull expectation we have been entertained with of an happy Latitude and agreement by means of this Assembly, and the wisdom of this Parliament.

Strong motives indeed, peaceable and orderly Reformation with a hopefull expectation of an happy Latitude and agreement, powerfull and effectual they have commanded peaceable and orderly men, but though you might find grounds above all the rest to have carried weight, yet they could no more prevaile with you then the fore-named, (as I have fully proved) whether you have had such due respect to the peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State, let what follows speake: Is it peaceable and orderly in a time when the Magistrate makes it his maine worke to reforme and calls so manie godlie learned Ministers from all parts to consult with to settle the Church and Government according to the Word of God, for particular private men to gather Churches, and to add to them daile without and against the consent of the Magistrate; yea, against the instant and continuall advices and conjurements of manie honourable, wise, and godly Personages of both Houses of Parliament, to forbear what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy difference; now no one thing could have more occasion or augment the differences then this of gathering Churches according to your way, one or two out of this godlie Ministers Parish, or two out of this Family, the wife from the husband against his consent &c? Again, is it peaceable and orderlie for these gathered Churches to meet on the Sabbath day in private houses at the time of the publique Assembly whereby great tumults and combustions have been and may be occasioned in the streets? And is it a due respect to peaceable and orderly Reformation

preach publicly upon points in difference, and for a Toleration of
 Sects and opinions? And lastly, is that a *due respect to the peaceable and
 Reformation of this Church and State*, to see in Churches (where you,
 Ministers of your way have preached) great tumults and disor-
 ders committed by your followers against the use of anie part of the Lyrur-
 gy, yet never to reprove them for it, nor to teach them to expect and
 that the Parliament would settle things; which of you have preached
 the tumults in Churches, or the Lay-preaching, or the gathering of
 by the people? We have had a sprinkling of a little Court holy-
 colour in one or two Sermons against some who say we have
 Churches, no Ministers, &c. with which the eyes of manie men who
 studied the controversies, neither understand them, have beene
 led by which you have the more readily drawne some either to
 and-way, by your pretended moderation, or to plead for you a
 supposition of Brownisme. But what have you either done really,
 for the *peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State*?
 all the notorious and visible disorders in our Churches (since this
 ment) both in Citie and Countrey (which have wrought, such great
 manie (though unjustlie) against the Reformation and the Par-
 as old Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, *He have troubled me, to
 sink amongst the inhabitants of the Land, and I being few in num-
 shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me*, &c. so might
 and Parliament (speake) been committed by your followers,
 of your way and Communion, yea manie of them in your presence,
 of you have beene to preach (for as for the rigid Brownists and
 they come not to our Assemblies at all.) O the great advan-
 gain the common enemy hath made amongst manie of these
 and the great loss and hindrance the Reformation and Parliament
 by them. What that *happie latitude and agreement* is with
 you have been so *hopefully entertained* by some, you should have done
 to have spoken out, and have told us whether anie men in place have
 promises of a Toleration for your way, (for I suppose by your phrase
 the *happie latitude and agreement* you meane.) But if anie have, I
 am no more, then they can perform and make good, besides those per-
 from their promise, and you have justlie forfeited that hope-
 for whereas they *entertained* you with it (as your selves
 you might keep silence, and forbear all acting for your selves or
 you have practised quite contrarie (as is evident by the manie instances
 my Answer to this Section :) Now as *this deep silence and forbearance*

of:

of yours, is sufficientlie disprooved (for what heare I words, when I see deeds so contrarie) so neither the conscience nor consideration of all things, nor the weight of each have had anie great power with you hitherto, but your own interests: For your private particular Church-way hath prevailed with you above all the publike, to occasion great disturbance amongst the people; and great disturbance hath been, and is occasioned by your meanes, that a swarme is up and settles in so manie places, as without Gods great mercy they will never be got into one hive againe. The Lord onely knowes what these disturbances will be settled and quieted; it were easie to fill up such booke as your *Apologeticall Narration* with the particulars of the disturbances occasioned amongst the people, by meanes of you, and other Ministers of your communion.

In a word, at that time when some of you, whose names are here subscribed, did keepe anie silence, I thinke, it was not so much the Reasons pretended by you, as the advantage of our silence in furthering preaching and printing, (some bookes being then even ready to have come out) that was aimed at, and was a greater weight then the Reasons here mentioned by you, and besides you in your wifdomes knew well enough there were manie of your way (though you were silent) would be doing and driving on the trade, there would be preaching and printing that would serve to take with the people, and in the interim you should gain time to ripen, shapen and bring forth your opinions the better with the grounds: As to those words in the close of this Section, *we have and are resolved to bear all this with a quiet and strong patience, in the strength of which we now speake or rather sigh forth this little, &c.* So it seems, witnesse this *Apologeticall Narration*, that you have, and are resolved to bear all this with a quiet and strong patience. It is a wonder if your patience was so quiet and strong, (in the strength of which you now speake, or rather sigh forth this little book) you could not forbear a little longer from putting forth this Populish and Rhetoricall Discourse to take the people with, and to vindicate your selves and way (especiallie having so manie advantages.) 1. That many of the mistis gathered about you were in a great measure scattered without speaking a word. 2. The good opinion both Houses had of you to make you members of the Assembly, with other favours conferred upon you. 3. Your rising up with the streame of popular applause, cried up, and followed so by the people, with your great interest and familiaritie in manie men of power. 4. Eminent Lectures, and the most publike places to preach in. 5. Above all, your being members of the Assembly, as also the Assembly being upon the very borders of the points in difference: In consideration of

(I judge) a very little patience might have served the turne to have
the vindication of your persons to God, and to a further experience
by men; so that, it seemes not true to mee, that in the
of a quiet and strong patience, you now speake or sigh forth this
but rather this Apologie was made for want of patience to
and out of that common designe of acting for your selves
any, and to lay in something before-hand with the Parlia-
and the people, (what ever the Assembly might chance to
do,) in a word, to prejudice the Assembly, to play the
game, and to prepossesse the mindes of men with a further
opinion of you and your way: but I believe, God hath
all to the contrarie, taking the wise in their owne craftinesse,
this Apologie hath, and will make more against you then anie
thing you ever did. I have beene told by an intimate familiar
of yours, that one of you five told him, it proved quite con-
trary your expectation, and you admired at it, it should bee
taken by the Assembly, &c. It is the worst evill that ever
you since your returne from your exile, worse then all the
misunderstandings and mis-representations of your opinions, and the in-
juries to the State edged with calumnies and reproaches against To-
day of your Churches, and the sudden and unexpected noise of
these exclamations: So soone as ever I read it over with delibe-
rate I presentlie apprehended it the beginning of your fall, (in
of your Church-way,) and could not but wonder at the
honour of God, in leaving you to pen such a strange piece, both
in matter and manner, so justlie liable to exceptions and offence,
that would loose you amongst your friends, and draw Penns of
injury and from all parts against you, and give occasion for draw-
ing such answers to it (and you can blame none but your selves)
which upon necessity discover, and lay open both matter of fact
and opinions more then ever else there would have beene anie pre-
text of ground to have done it. As for referring the vindication
of your persons to God, and a further experience of you by men. I an-
swer, that without great repentance for this *Apologeticall Narration*,
and some other practises since your returne into England, instead of
vindicating your Persons, you cannot but expect God will vi-
sitate you; and whether hereafter men may have occasion to vindicate you
in further experience of you, I referre that to time, but for the ex-
perience they have had of you this Parliament, before the writing of
this

this Apologie, and by the writing of it, and since till this very day, they have no great cause of vindicating you, but rather (particularly by this Apologie) they have matter of great offence and scandall: And I judge this Apologie hath in one sence given a further experience of your ways and spirits to men, then the experience of manie yeares hereafter might have done. As for referring the Declaration of your judgements and what you conceive to be Gods truth therein to the due and orderly agitation of this Assembly, why did you not as you speak, referre it to the agitation of the Assembly, write this book just before the agitation, wherein you had declared your judgements in the points controyerted, & let me ask you, seeing you meant to refer the declaration of your judgements to the due and orderly agitation of this Assembly, why would you agitate the points before hand, as in this Apologie in so undue and disorderlie a way, why would you so publickly engage your selves in print before-hand, yea, and peremptorie conclude the points before ever disputed, (as in the 22, 24 pages you doe.) And let me tell you, you had need agitate what you conceive to be truth in this more duly and orderly in the Assemblies, then you do in the Apologie: I believe this Apologie (considering all circumstances) was born and brought forth the most out of due time and order of any book put forth this forty years. As for that clause, of this Assembly whereof both Houses were pleased to make us Members, it might have been here spared, because in the title of the book, and in other places you speak of your selves as members of the Assembly, but if you added it here as by way of acknowledgement of great favour and good pleasure of the Houses to make you so, (being members of other Churches then the Church of England, and having received another Ministerie, and never purposing to be bound by the determinations of the Assembly,) then there may be some reason of this addition.

Apolog. And whereas our silence upon all the fore-mentioned grounds which we know we can never lose esteem with good and wise men) hath bene the ill interpretation of some, imputed either to our conscioussness of the bateness and weaknesse of our Cause, or to our inability to maintain what we assert in preference, from other: or answer what hath bene written by others, we shall (with all modestie) only present this to all mens apprehensions in confutation of it: That what ever the truth and justnesse of our Cause may prove to be, or how slender abilities to defend it, yet we pretend at least with so much wisdom, that we would never have reserved our selves for, but rather by all means have defended this Theatre, of all other, the most judicious and severe, an Assembly of so notable, learnea, and grave Divines, where much of the Pietie, wisdom, and shining of two Kingdoms are met in one, honoured and assisted with the presence

of both Houses at all debates (as often as they please to vouchsafe
 us the stage whereon first we would bring forth into publique view
 (if false and counterfeit) together with our own folly and weaknesse:
 much rather have chosen to have been venting them to the multitude
 seduced; (which we have had these three yeares opportunity to have
 done) But in a conscientious regard had to the orderly and peaceable way of
 clearing out truths, and reforming the Churches of Christ, we have adven-
 tured upon this way of God, wisely assumed by the providence of the
 Lord. And therein also upon all sorts of disadvantages (which we could not
 escape) both of number, abilities of learning, Authority, the straggle of pub-
 licke: Trusting God both with our selves and his own truth, as he shall be
 able to manage it by us.

Whereas you speak of silence upon all the forementioned grounds, you
 have not been silent in the Pulpits, and among the people, but in many Ser-
 mons and in divers Congregations, and at sundry times, most of you have
 spoken freely, particularly, and at large, (besides more darkly and generallie)
 against your Church-way: so that, what you would inferre is denyed you;
 and you indeed been silent amongst the people, and where you ought
 to have been silent, you could not have lost esteeme with good and wise men,
 nor had been your praise with God and Men: but this is that I charge you
 with, for which you may well suffer in the thoughts of good and wise
 men, that you have been very silent and reserved where you should have spo-
 ken, and have been desired; and where the free and plain declaring your
 sentiments would not have prejudiced the forementioned grounds, but
 on the other hand where you should have been silent, and your speaking
 tended to no other ends, but to disunion in dividing the godlie
 Church, and to the increasing of your own partie, there you have been free
 to speak out, but to your godlie and learned brethren in the Ministerie
 coming from you, you never brought in a Narrative of your Tenets, (as
 was desired, and you promised) nor ever laid downe clearly your positions
 on the grounds of them, (as who but you would in three yeares time
 have done, and have desired satisfaction) but you still declined disputes and
 reasoning upon the points in difference, as upon that about Formes of Pray-
 er (whereupon the meeting among Ministers was laid aside for a time.)
 you never answered anie of the bookes written by men of much worth and
 learning, and with much strength and moderation, (as your selves confesse) but
 have still given out by your followers upon the comming forth of
 such bookes, they should be answered, and that the Question was mistaken,
 and you held not so, with such like put offs: You have declined giving in your

positions and grounds to some Parliament men that desired them, who promised to be ready to do anie thing for you, provided they might know what your way was; and see your grounds to consider of them, whether they were according to Scriptures: but now in Pulpits, and in houses among common people (and especially the female sex) apt to be seduced strong in their affections, and loving too much Independencie, but weak and easie in their understandings, not able to examine grounds and reasons, to answer you, there you have vented abundantly your conceits, setting upon the thatch of the house (as Mr John Goodwin in former times used to expresse it.) Upon which grounds and considerations, no marvell though it were interpreted by some Ministers, and by my selfe too, (I freele confess it) that you were somewhat conscious of a weake and bad Cause, or of *unability to maintaine what you asserted in difference from others, or to answer the books written against your way*: and I appeale to the Reader, whether this was an ill Interpretation, or whether we might not justlie and rationally impute such a silence to the badnesse and weaknesse of the cause; but it was ever accounted an argument of a weake and bad cause, to delay, and shift off the triall, and hearing of it; and of a bad commoditie to be out of the light; and I have read it somewhere as a speech quoted out of *Tullian*, that opinion ought to be suspected, which would be hid, and you know that common saying, *Veritas non quarit angulos*. But as for that which you present to all mens apprehensions for the confusion of that Interpretation and Construction of your silence; That *what ever the truth and justice of your cause may prove to be, or how slender your abilities to defend it, yet you were at least so far from wisdom, that you would never have reserved your silence for, but rather by all wayes have declined this Theatre of all other the most judicious and severe, an Assembly of so many able, learned, and grave Divines &c.* I answer, it is no concluding argument, it follows not, because there is an Assembly now sitting, whereof you are members, where you resolve to bring forth your grounds for your Tenets, that therefore your former silence then, could not be imputed to *consciousnesse of a bad and weak Cause, or inability to maintaine it*; and it will appear thus: because of the different times, and that distance between then and now, you might not see the good grounds, nor bee so well versed and studied in it then; besides you might be in great hopes that it would be long before anie such Assembly should meet, (as it was) and when they did meet, it should be long before those points should come to dispute and debate, (as we see hath fallen out) and in the mean time you should gaine time, which Politicians and men (as you are) make much account of, and set that against manie things

by to worke out their ends; and then you should try the spirits of
 in the Assembly, and see how things were like to goe; and if things
 wax rotten to your mind, you might returne back, and so never disco-
 your weaknesse: but if things went on well, and affaires were likely to
 on the Parliaments side, and matters must come to dispute and de-
 in the Assemblie, then you would do as you should find occasion, and
 upon such consultations as the times would suffer, then reason and dis-
 when brought to a necessitie, and it could not be helped; but yet so
 is no need kept it off, especiallie upon some hopes it might never
 to that: manie will adventure upon a thing with more disadvantages
 they see there is no remedie for it, who yet so long as they can be at
 and at libertie will decline the thing out of diffidence of their
 and fear of their abilitie to carrie it. Manie a man shuns fighting
 he can avoid it, out of conscioufnesse of his weaknesse, and want of
 and hopes of doing so still, who yet when he must either fight or die,
 fight and lay about him as well as he is able, and this was, and is your
 And whereas you say, *what ever your cause may prove to be, &c. yet you
 had at least so much wisdom, that you would never have reserved your
 for the Assembly, &c.* I must answer you, I believe upon good grounds,
 who do manie more, you never tooke anie great content or joy in the
 of this Assemblie, but have done your utmost to delay it, and
 it by: God knowes your hearts, and men some of your speeches a-
 the meeting of this Assembly, but seeing it could not be helped, and
 you could not keep it off by all your friends, you could neither will nor
 you have reserved your selves, and not by all wayes declined being mem-
 of it; and good reason why, for otherwise you must have lost all, and
 never have had your mouths stopt for your way, if being chosen of the
 Assemblie you had declined it; but by being members of the Assembly, you
 at least to do something for your way, hinder, and stumble the other
 keep it longer from being settled (by which you should gain, and make
 advantage) or get a Toleration for your Churches, or possibly might car-
 at least in some things: For without doubt you reasoned after this
 manner, There are some ten for our way in the Assembly, and we hope to
 bring in more of our mind (as you have attempted since the sitting of the
 Assembly) some besides there are of the Assembly fairlie inclining towards
 us, and ready to comply with us, some also but little studied in the points,
 and other more indifferent about Government: now wee in policy, dili-
 gence, speech, and parts excellling many others too, may have some hopes
 to winne it, or at least to qualifie and moderate the Assembly to our way;

(especiallie having observed the Ministers so desirous of peace, and loath to breake with us almost upon anie termes :) but supposing the worst whatever the issue of things might prove to be in the Assembly, you had this *Maxim* to guide you by, when men can do no otherwise, they must do as well as they can: And as for the wisdom you pretend unto, not to bring forth your Tenets into publique view first on the stage of the Assembly (if false and counterfeit together with your own folly and weaknesse: I answer, the wisdom that manie have pretended to, (as much as you can) hath deceived them; and instead of truth and strength have brought forth their folly and weaknesse; and whether none of you, who pretend to much wisdom, have not in the Assembly brought forth into publique view, upon occasion of your Tenets, their folie and weaknesse, I leave the Assembly to judge of that. Onlie before I take off my hand from this brought by you in confutation of the ill interpretation of some, I cannot let passe this Testimonie given by you Five to the Assembly: That it is a Theatre of all other the most judicious and severe, an Assembly of so many able, learned, and grave Divines, where much of the piety, wisdom and learning of two Kingdomes are met in one, &c. which testimonie given by you to this Assembly, and that Character given by you of the people and the Professors of this Kingdom in page 24. and 28. are worthe to be observed and are of great use in these times, when the Assembly and their proceedings are so much traduced and spoken against by your followers and Churches; and let me make this use of it to the people, and sadlie put this question to their Consciences, Whether is more probable, that an Assembly so judicious, of so many able, learned, and grave Divines where much of the piety, wisdom, and learning of two Kingdomes are met in one, going in Gods way (as you say, page 28.) making it their work and businesse to find out the Government and the truth about the order of the Church visible, and giving freedome of debates to men of different minds and apprehensions, seeking God publiquelie and privatlie dailie (with so manie prayers put up for them in all Churches at home, and abroad beyond the Seas,) should find out the truth; or Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Batchelor, M. Carter, with a company of weake, ignorant men and women, youth and maids, apt to be seduced and ready to take any impressions, and to be cast into any mould that hath but the appearance of a stricter way? As to those words: We would much rather have chosen to have been venting them to the multitude apt to be seduced: I answer, so you did, much rather chuse to vent your opinions and principles both in publique and private to the multitude apt to be seduced, according to the opportunities you had these three yeares, then to communicate them to your godly brethren of the Ministerie, (as I have

fully shewed.) For this passage of yours, *But in a conscientious regard to the orderly and peaceable way of searching out truths, and reforming the Churches of Christ, we have adventured our selves upon this way of safety assumed by the prudence of the State;* whether this be so or no, you have had a conscientious regard to the orderly and peaceable way of searching out truth, and reforming the Churches of Christ, let my last answer, and what is before proved, witness, and if out of a conscientious regard to the orderly, &c. you adventured to be members of the Assemblée, upon this way by an Assemblée of searching out truths, why did you not let the Assemblée forbear the disorderlie and unpeaceable way of gathering your selves to the multitude, and of gathering Churches, &c. as also the Assemblée the disorderlie and unpeaceable way of searching out truths, in writing this Apologic, in preaching some Sermons, with some opportunities, which were no orderlie nor peaceable waies of searching out truths, specially the Assemblée sitting. But let them believe you that will, and that upon grounds and hints already given, that other things you adventure to be of the Assemblée, and to come thither constantlie, when then the conscientious regard had to the orderlie and peaceable way of searching out truths, and I cannot let passe without some animadversions made by you here of your being members of the Assemblée, *We have adventured our selves*, a verie significant and true expression, for I believe you accounted this Assemblée a great Adventure for your Church-way, and at bottome as you would not have put it in, (at least not so soon) if all things you could have devised under heaven would have hindred it, but it was forced to you according to the Proverb, *Nothing a venture, nothing have*; for if you would have declined there must be an Assemblée, you might perhaps by being members of it do your selves and way some good, but by declining and refusing it; you were certainly lost. But brethren, what is the reason, that in this Section, when you give so full a testimonie to the Assemblée, and of your great adventure to be members of it, that you annex in the close these words following: *And therein also upon all sorts of disadvantages, both of number, abilities of learning, Authority, the streame of publique interest, trusting God both with his own truth, &c.* Whether does not this somewhat reflect upon the Assemblée? as if there were a great hazard that things would be carried by number, abilities of learning, Authority, the streame of publique interest, rather then by truth? for if points were not likelie to be carried so, by plurality of Votes, &c. but by the clearest proofes from Scripture, then there were no disadvantages to you, but all the advantage would lie on your side whether manie or few, whether greater Scholars, or lesse, that could

bring the strongest Scripture-grounds; and I must tell you, that in such an Assembly as you confesse this is, and is well known to be, both for the persons and ends of its calling, that great liberty of speech and debate, and that solemn Protestation taken by every member at first sitting there, man need not account those things specified by you for any disadvantages for any two or three men; nay, one of a different judgement in Doctrine or discipline from that Assembly, having truth on his side, and but so poor learning as to manage and make out his evidences (though a man of authority) might easily cause the consciences of most there to own and lie down before that truth, and to change their minds; yea, and to bless God for the light, and embrace the person or persons that brought it; much less need you, whose number is sufficient, about ten (besides some who are called Independents,) having parts and abilities enough, and Authority to manage your arguments, and even to command free and long audience, to complain of these things for disadvantages; but I am jealous this passage is inserted and brought in to possesse the peoples minds (fearing by this time this Apologie was set out, things might not go on your side) and to give them something to confirme them in your way, to teach them what to believe, namely though you had the truth; and brought such strong arguments were not answered, yet you could not be heard, but matters were carried against you by pieces, (the greater number of the Assembly by farre being another judgment, as also by the streame of publike interest, Authority, &c.) And many of the people of the Church-way speak thus already, that the Assembly cannot answer your arguments, but beare you down with numbers; the Parliament should have done well to have chosen as many of your way as on the other side, and then there would have been a faire and equal trial: but I will examine all your disadvantages apart, and give you and the Reader a particular account of them.

First, for *Number*, though you have not so many of your judgment in the Assembly, yet you have a competent *number* to plead your cause, and to give the mouth for all of your way, to speak whatever any of your way can say for it. Secondly, when an Assemblie was first agreed upon, there were many more Ministers and Schollers of your way in the Kingdome, who were capable of such a service, (however you may be increased since) so that you had as much advantage as your condition was capeable of, yea and farre more too. Thirdly, Considering the many hundred Ministers in this Kingdome that petitioned for Reformation, and subscribed the Remonstrance, (and also bore the heat of the day and never flinched for it) and the small number of the Independent (who fled also to save their stake, and to keep in a

having quitted to our Churches and Ministry, and making no account
by the determinations of the Assembly, it is more in proportion
Arithmetically and Geometrically, to have Ten of you members in
public, then some hundreds of our Ministers; and yet you know, the
number of Divines who meet there, does not much exceed 80 per-
Fourthly, Number is little, where conscientious men having taken
protestation, come together to seek out truth, being free also to re-
and thus any government laid down in the Word, and not over-awed
power, or feare of crushing; nor byassed by hopes of preferment: it is
such an Assembly, as the Convocation-House of Bishops, and their
was, number was a great disadvantage.

Fifthly, for abilities of Learning, I grant you there are manie members
of the Assembly go far beyond anie of you in that; yet among you all, and
these particular men of you, there are abilities enough of Learning,
and wit, to bring out and enforce to the greatest advantage upon
any time (which you do) and writing down your grounds, anie
of Reasons for your way, so that you need not complain for want
of Learning, but for want of Truth in your cause, which will afford rather
stronger arguments for it.

Sixthly, For Authoritie, I know not well what you meane by that in this
(you having so manie doubtfull passages in your Apologie) whether
the Authoritie of Parliament, or whether the Ministers who are for Pres-
byterian have greater Authoritie in the Assembly then you, or what else.
If you meane the first, that the Presbyterian partie hath the advantage
over, namely the Authoritie of Parliament: I answer, the Parliament in-
has no authoritie to determine what government shall be, but calls the
Assembly to advise with, and draw up for them what government is most
conformable to the Word, giving also a liberty to the fewer number in matters
to give in their Reasons (as you in the 30 page grant, and im-
will do.) And as for the Parliament who are Authority, there are but
Ministers of the Assembly, who have been able to do more with them
you? or who have had a greater interest in their favour then your
witness all passages of Parliament from first to last, wherein the
Assembly hath honoured anie of the Ministers either in preaching before
upon solemne occasions, or in calling this Assembly; or in imploying
about the *Scottish* affaires, either in *England*, or into *Scotland*, or in the
giving up a Lecture at *Westminster*, or in appointing Licenfers for printing of
what ever it hath been, or how few the number that have been im-
ployed, though but two, or three, yet still an Independent hath bene one.

But

But secondlie; if you mean that the Ministers who differ in judgement from you have a greater Authoritie in the Assemblie then you, I answer, you are all equall, having a brotherlie equalitie there; the whole Assemblie not having Authoritie, that is Jurisdiction and power of censure over the members to cast him out, or to hinder him from speech, according to rule and order: And as for Authoritie of speaking in the Assemblie and of being heard, some of you have exercised as much of that as most there; and for authoritie with the people to lead them, whether you, or most of the Ministers, the Assemblie have the greatest is no controversie; witness the deep censures upon the Assemblie, and the godlie Ministers everie where, by multitudes of the people, but the great applause and crying up of you and other Independents: So that if authoritie with manie well-meaning people be an advantage it is on your side, and that hath done you heretofore some service, to make manie men more shie of preaching against your way, because of your great authoritie with the people, that being ground enough to put manie men out of the state of grace with some sorts of people; besides authoritie in the peoples hearts could sway anie thing with the Assemblie against the truth, yea but to suspend their judgements about the truth (as I am confident it doth not) then you would have the advantage of authoritie to sway the Assemblie rather to your side, then against you.

4. For the fourth disadvantage, *the stream of publike interest*, this is a dangerous insinuation against the Assemblie, yea and the Parliament too, without whom nothing the Assembly doth can be of anie validitie, as if they would be carried with the *stream of publike interests* rather then by the Word of God, and would bend the Word of God to the *stream of publike interest*; now let me put you this Dilemma, either the *publike interest* of this Kingdom at this time will stand and agree with the Word of God, or it will not; if it will stand, then not onlie the Assemblie, but you also should be for that interest, accounting *the publike interest*, so suiting to the Word of God an advantage; but if it will not stand with the Word, but that the *stream of publike interest* runs one way, and Gods Word another way, can you thinke the Assemblie will be carried with publike interest, and leave the *stream of the word*? would not the Assemblie rather follow the Word of God, accounting walking according to that, the *greatest and most publike interest* hath the Parliament, Kingdom and Ministers done and suffered so much for Reformation according to the Word of God, and now after all this, is there a *stream of publike interest* divided from the Word to carrie away the Ministers called together, according to which a government must be framed, and the Church reformed, and this is the great disadvantage that some members

Assemblie, who would go according to the word of God meet withall,
 must be put to swimme against: Brethren, what will the Prelates say of
 Reformation and Church-government when you speake thus? have not
 a sword into their hands this day against us? and shall we not heare
 but I wish brethren whilst you thus asperse the Assemblie with the
 of being carried away with the *stream of publike interest*, that the stream
 your own particular private interest, and credit among the people did
 much carrie you away, as manie other waies, so in writing of this
 But the Reader may ask, what is the plain English of the *stream of*
interest, according to which there was so great danger the Assemblie
 swimme? I answer, I conceive one of these two things, or else it is
 both are meant by the Apologists. 1. That the Ministers of the As-
 for themselves and their fellow Ministers, would stand for such a go-
 as wherein the power should be in their own hands, and not in the
 do with them for maintenance and standing at their pleasure, and
 they would establish Presbyteriall government rather then Inde-
 2. The Parliament of England upon great Armies raised against
 need help, calls in for the Kingdom of Scotland to assist them, now
 being for Presbyteriall government, and against Independent, and
 of uniformitie in government between the Kingdomes, therefore
 the Scots, the Assemblie is like to be swayed that way, is this
 of publike interest meant by you? oh how unworthy an insinua-
 this, and how prejudiciall this will be to the Reformation in after
 I desire you to consider of in coole blood, and what the enemies will
 the government and Reformation of this Church was not free, nor
 to the word of God, but what Scotland would have, Englands
 Scotland made them, at least swayed much to take up their govern-
 but however this is insinuated for the holding up the credit of your
 against the time the Assembly shall come to reject it as Apocrypha,
 I tell you, you *foresee* that, which is no such *stream of publike inter-*
 no cause of disadvantage to you: For the Commissioners of the
 of Scotland were not sent hither to put their government upon us,
 come as well to receive anie light and help, as to give, and to come to us
 should be found upon debate more agreeable to the word, as we to
 to them, and the Covenant of the Kingdoms doth not tie us to the
 of the Church of Scotland, but binds us to Reformation accor-
 to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches;
 requires both of us and them an uniformitie according to the word
 And indeed the Assembly consisting of *so many able, learned and grave*

where much of the wisdom, piety and learning of two Kingdoms are met, cannot well be thought to be carried away from the word by the stream of public-like interest, especially most of the Assemblie being men not engaged by education or otherwise to any other of the Reformed Churches, or by former declarations of their judgments, nor appointed by the Parliament to Presbyterian government, but left free to be guided by the light of the word in this way of God communicated to them, besides that the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland (however they be present in the Assemblie to hear debates and to give their Reasons) yet never gave their voices in anie point that hath passed the Assemblie. As for the close of this Section, *trusting God with your selves and his own truth as he shall be pleased to manage it by us.* Had you in adventuring your selves upon this Assemblie, and therein really believing all the sorts of disadvantages (as you here speake) trusted God both with your selves and that you call *his own truth*, some of you would never have brought such arguments for your way (as you have done.) And certainly if some of you did *trust God as you ought with your selves, &c.* you would not trust so much to your wits and policie, nor be so full of reservations, fetches, doubtfull expressions as you are. And brethren let me deale with you plainly (I hope it may do you good,) manie speake of your policie and subtiltie, some who are strangers to you (yet being members of the Assemblie) and beholding your managing of your opinions and way there, wonder that good men should be so politick and subtile as you are, especially if the cause were good.

Apolog. Moreover, if in all matters of Doctrine, we were not as Orthodox as our judgments as our brethren themselves, we would never have exposed our selves to this trouble and hazard of discovery in this Assembly, the mixture of whose spirits, the quick-sightedness of whose judgments (intent enough upon us) and variety of debates about all sorts of controversies afford in these times of contradiction are such, as would be sure soon to find us out if we nourished any monsters or supports of opinions lurking in our bosomes. And if we had carried it so, as that to such errors were not afore-hand open to the view and judgment of all, sitting here (unless we would be silent, which we have not been) we could not have hid. But it is sufficiently known that in all points of doctrine (which have been in the review and examination of the Articles of our Church, or upon other occasions have been gone through) our judgments have still concurred with the great part of our brethren, neither do we know wherein we have dissented. And in matters of discipline we are so far from holding up the differences that occurs, or making the breaches greater or wider, that we endeavour upon all such occasions to grant and yield (as all may see and cannot but testify for us) in the utmost

of our light and consciences; professing it to be as high a point of Religion and
readily to own, yea fall down before whatsoever is truth in the hands of
those that differ, yea though they should be enemies unto us, as much as earnestly to
maintain and hold fast those truths wherein we should be found dissenting from
them; and this is in relation to peace, so also as a just due to truth and goodnesse,
to approve it and acknowledge it to the uttermost grain of it, though mingled
with what is opposite unto us. And further when matters by discussion are brought to
the point of dissent that may be, we have hitherto been found to be no backward ur-
gers a temper (not only in things that have concerned our own consciences, but
in others also) such as may suite and tend to union as well as searching out
truth, judging this to be as great and usefull an end of Synods and Assemblies,
as the most exact discussion of all sorts of lesser differences with binding deter-
minations of truth one way.

Whether in all matters of Doctrine all of you be as Orthodox in your Judg-
ment as your brethren themselves, I question it, (though in the most Doctrines
of the main I grant it) I have been told of some odd things in matter of
doctrine preached by one of you five both in England and Holland, and of
the points preached in the Church of *Arnhem* never questioned there,
and yet printed, not verie Orthodox, as for instance (amongst others) that
the souls of the Saints do not go to heaven to be with Christ, expresse con-
trary to the 2. Cor. 5: 6, 8. and to *Philip.* 1. 23.

Now whether some of you may not hold those
opinions, seeing they were publickly preached at
Arnhem, and never condemned (as ever I heard,) I
know not, but have reason rather to suspect you
do, however though you do not nourish any Mon-
sters or Serpents of opinions in your bosomes, yet
that you have running wormes in your heads,
and together with the gold, silver, and Ivorie of
Orthodox truths, you have store of Apes and Pea-
cockes, conceits and toys, as strange coined distin-
ctions, new strained expositions of Scriptures, odd
opinions about the personall raigne of Christ on
earth, and I ask you what the anointing with
oil of office persons as an Ordinance for Church-
members, and what the bringing in of Hymnes composed by the gift of a
Church-member, *cum multis aliis*, are? whether are not these strange conceits?
and however you may be free of Monsters and Serpents of opinions lurking in
your bosomes, yet there is much of a Monster and the Serpent lurking in this

* The Doctrine also of God
being the Author of sin, that
monster was brought forth
in one of your Churches, vid:
Book entit. Comfort for be-
lievers. Assembl. Declaration
upon it.

* *Leather* upon *Genesis* relates
of strange punishments in his
time, that some had Serpents
in their belly, and some had
Wormes in their braine.

*Quod horrendum audire est, quod-
dam Serpentes in ventre, quos-
dam ceretbra habuisse.*

Apologie, and to be sure one Monster of opinions you all hold generallie, and some of you have preacht for, A Toleration of divers sects and opinions, and let me tell you, granting you five be so Orthodox, and supposing your argument good to prove it, *exposing your selves to the hazard of discovery in this Assembly* (which is no concluding argument) yet there are many members of those Churches to which you belong, besides manie other members of Churches of your way and communion, whom I suppose must be tolerated as well as your selves, that do hold verie odd and strange things. Some of *extrin* hold strange conceits, and some members of Mr. *Sympons* Church hold some of the points of the Anabaptists, and daily the Independent Churches like Africa do breed and bring forth the Monsters of Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Familisme, nay that huge Monster and old flying Serpent of the Mortality of the soule of man, and indeed there is no end of errors that the Independent principles and practises lead unto. As for those words, *if we had carried it so as that hitherto such errors were not aforesaid open to the view and judgment of all yet sitting here, unlesse we would be silent we could not be long hid, &c.* I answer, some one or two Heterodox opinions may be hid where men are Orthodox in the most, especiallie if all points of doctrine have not been discussed, nor reviewed, as in the Assemblie they have not, (manie Articles of our Church not having yet been gone through) so that your errors in doctrine may be behind, and your triall of being Orthodox will be when the Assemblie comes to these Articles: *Article 19, 22, 23. and 26.* and when that doctrine concerning the Lawfulness of a Toleration of divers sects and opinions shall come to be discussed: But before I passe from this, I desire the Apologists to remember and the Reader to observe, they call the Church of *England Our Church*, and so in the fift page of this Apologie *Our own Congregations, we mean of England.* So that if you mean as you here write, then the Nationall Church of *England* is your Church, and the Parochiall Congregations are yours, and so you establish a Nationall visible Church under the new Testament, and if so, why do you erect other Churches, and withdraw from your own? but if you do not mean so, nor believe there is a Nationall visible Church, nor account your selves members of this Nationall Church, why do you speak so, and call the Church of *England your own Church*, and the Parochiall Churches your *own Congregations*? As for that part of this Section which concerns your good carriage in the Assemblie in matters of Discipline, *In matters of Discipline we are so far from holding up the differences that occur, or making the breaches greater or wider, that we endeavour upon all such occasions to grant and yield, &c.* I not being present at the debates will say nothing against it, but whether since the writing of your Apologie, and the Assemblie comming to

Synods having power of binding Determinations (though a Ministeriall power they grant) and did you give to Synods and Assemblies in all sorts of lesser differences a binding Determination of truth one way and not onlie of consultation, direction, and at utmost but of Doctrine Determinment, the controversie would be at an end, and therefore in writing thus, judging that to be as great an end of Synods as this of binding Determinations, and not holding it, you hold neither, and then what tends all this to but to deceive the Reader.

Apologi. And thus we have nakedly, and with all simplicity rendered a clear and true account of our ways and spirits hitherto; Which we made choice of as first to make ourselves known by, rather than by a more exact and Scholastic relation of our Judgments in the points of difference about Church-Government reserving that unto the more proper season and opportunitie of this Assembly and that liberty given by both Honourable Houses in matters of dissent; or necessity shall after require, in a more publique way of stating and asserting them. In the mean time, from this brief historicall relation of our practices, the may a true estimate be taken of our opinions in difference, which being influential, and set out by practices, is the most real and least collusive way, and carries its own evidence with it. All which we have taken the boldnesse together with ourselves humbly to lay at the feet of your wisdom and piety; Beeching you to be upon us under no other Notion, or Character then as those, who if we cannot assure to have been no way furtherers of that Reformation you intend, yet who have been no way hinderers thereof, or disturbers of the publique peace; and who in our Judgments about the present work of this age, the Reformation of Worship and Discipline, do differ as little from the Reformed Churches, and our Brethren, you lesse, then they do from what themselves were three years past, or then the generality of this Kingdom from its selfe of late.

I wonder how you can say, We have nakedly and with all simplicity rendered a clear and true account of our ways and spirits hitherto, and for the truth of these lines I appeale to anie indifferent Reader, and to your owne Consciences, upon the review and examination of your booke, and I desire the Reader to remember what all along in my answer I have observed and concluded good against many passages both in matters of fact and opinion, and the result will be, that in truth the words may be inverted, instead of Nakedly, covertly, instead of all simplicity, all subtiltie, instead of a clear and true account of your ways and spirits, a dark, conceal'd, and untrue account, that your words might have been trulier written, And thus we have nakedly and with all subtiltie rendered a dark, conceal'd and untrue account of

and spirits hitherto. As for those words, *which we made choice of now to make our selves known by, rather than by a more exact and Scholastique relation of our Judgements, &c.* I answer, it was the speciall hand of God and your way, (and I cannot but take speciall notice of it, and desire you would) that you should choose now at first to make your selves known by such an Apologie, and in such a way, rather then by a Scholastique relation of your Judgements. A Scholastique relation would not have been so knowne as this, neither have discovered your spirits, nor have given that just occasion and necessitie of discovering you, it would not have drawn in so manie against you, nor have drawne forth such answers as this. But let me aske you the reason, why chose you this way at first rather than a Scholasticall way, if you would now in the time of the Assembly have been making your selves knowne in your teners and opinions, and have waited till the debating and discussing of them, it had been for many reasons best to have printed an *exact and Scholastique relation of your selves in the points of difference*, rather then such a popular and Rhetoricall discourse? Can there be anie reasons given for it, but that this was written to the people with, to prepare their minds for your way (for feare the people should conclude against it,) and the more to engage your party to follow you, (you having thus openlie and confidentlie declared your selves) and also, because you are best at this weapon, more able in a laxer way to expresse your selves, then in a close, presse, Syllogisticall, and contentious way, and people are most taken with such kind of discourse rather then with arguments. As for that you say of *reserving that unto the proper season, and opportunitie of this Assembly, and that liberty given to the Honourable Houses, in matters of dissent, or as necessity shall after require some publique way of stating and assering of them.* Why could you not have reserved this *Apologeticall Narration* a little longer as the Scholastique relation of your Judgements, especiallie having reserved it so long, as you in such haste that the Assembly being upon the borders of the year in difference; nay they being brought in by the Committees to be dissolved, you must send out such a discourse to prepare the way for you? did you think the Assembly as well as the people would be taken with good words and such flourishes? and since (as you pretend) the ground of your sitting in 1647. (such a one as it was) was that you might reserve your selves to the Assembly, and set that *bee the stage whereon first you would bring your selves into publique view*, why did you goe contrarie, and first bring your opinions forth upon the stage of this Apologie to all the world, and then you brought them to the Assembly? and so frustrate your owne

owne resolutions, and crosse your owne words in page 17. But before I leave this I cannot but observe that you expresse you will draw up your dissent from the Assemblie in a *Scholastique way* to both Houses, and afterwards publike lie print your grounds: belike you are beforehand resolved what to hold, and so are preparing your selves to draw your grounds for both Houses, you meditate upon dissent and non-agreement, and I perceive the Assemblie must expect to be dealt with by you, the Synod of Dort was by the Arminians, you will be Remonstrants: when you may take your course, and begin when you please, the Assemblie has members enough able to deale with you at that weapon: As to those words *In the mean time from this brieft historicall relation of our practises, there may true estimate be taken of our opinions in difference, which being instanced in and set out by practises, is the most reall and least collusive way and carries in evidence with it.* For answer, I propound to the Reader as follows this question of your words: In the mean time from this brieft, generall, partiall, conceal'd, untrue, historicall relation of your practises, there can be little true estimate taken of your opinions in difference; which being set out by practises but in part, and not the whole, in the bright side, and not the black, the least reall, without anie evidence in it, but the most collusive way, especially with the people, and with such who have not studied the controversies, nor know not the points in difference: But I will shew unto you a more reall way, if you will promise to answer positiveliie and plainliie to such questions and positions as I shall draw up for you concerning your Church way, then there may be an estimate of the opinions in difference, and for the quitall of this, I will promise you to answer clearliie and fulliie to anie questions both of doctrine, discipline and worship that you can put unto me; for those words, *All which we have taken the boldnesse together with our selves humbly to lay at the feet of your wisdom and piety, &c.* I answer, it is a great boldnesse indeed to present such an Apologie to both Houses, the supreme Judicatory of this Kingdome, which is and hath been in all times the most just and severe tribunall for guiltinesse to appeare before, wherein besides the questions and controversies so mistated, and so manie doubtfull dark passages there are manie untrue relations, and I wonder how you durst presume to lay so much follie and indiscretion, with untruth, at the feet of so much wisdom and pietie: had your Apologie been onlie *ad populum*, who are weak and apt to be deceived, it had been more excusable, but to appeale by such an Apologie to both Houses of Parliament is verie strange, but we may see by this, how far applause and favour with the people, and confidence of success will carrie men: You have need indeed to beseech the Parliament

upon you under no other notion or character then as those, who if you cannot
 have been no way furtherers of the Reformation, yet who have been no
 hinderers thereof or disturbers of the publike peace. I think your consciences
 would tell you the Parliament hath reason to look upon you under other
 notions and characters then you represent your selves by, which (I judge) is
 the ground of your deprecating the Houses, and indeed I wonder how you
 make such a Petition to both Houses, for it is evident you have been no
 furtherers of that Reformation which the Parliament, or ever any wise State
 in any age intend; but you may assume to have been furtherers of a Re-
 formation for Independent government, and separation, which the Parlia-
 ment never intended: But whether you have been no way hinderers of the
 Reformation intended, nor disturbers of the publike peace, let the things alled-
 ged in this answer speake, witnesse gathering of Churches, witnesse the tu-
 mults that have been in streets upon some of your private meetings, witnesse
 the disturbance of the publike peace in some Churches upon your preaching,
 particularly if the delaying the work of Reformation, and settling Church-
 government be some way an hinderance to it, and an occasion of disturbing
 the publike peace, then you five have not been the least nor last in some way
 hindring Reformation, and disturbing the publike peace. And brethren
 what is the great thing that letteth, and will let but you five? I am confi-
 dent had it not been for you five, and a few more, the Reformation inten-
 ded, and the publike peace of the Church had been in a far faster way then
 now is: Brethren there are many complaints, and that by your dear friends
 regarding the work of Reformation by your means, you are the *Remora*
 to the Ship under Sailes, you are the spokes in the wheelles of the Chariot of
 Reformation; Parliament complaines, Assembly, City, Countie, all com-
 plain of the work retarded, and all is resolved into you five principallie: I
 could tell you many particular passages, but you know what I mean; In a
 word all the Prelates and the Papists cannot, nor do not so much hinder the
 work of Reformation as you five members of the Assemblie, and the Lord in
 mercie work so, that by occasion of you, and by means of your principles,
 and manie persons of your Church-way, there do not rise up another great
 mountain before *Zerubbabel*, to hinder the laying the headstone of that build-
 ing, the foundation whereof is layed. As for your differing so little in your
 judgments about the present work of this age, Reformation of worship and disci-
 pline from the Reformed Churches and your brethren, &c. I answer, if so be that
 you differ so little from the Reformed Churches, and your brethren, *yea far*
less then they do from what themselves were three years past, why do you not
 incorporate with us? why will you, or how can you answer it to God

for that to make a rent? and to desire to have Churches of your own way, and to be an occasion of so much evill, as that would prove to this Church? the smaller the difference is the greater is the schisme and separation, for the lesse the cause of a separation is, the greater the fault is in those that make it. Are we come so far to you so many miles, (as you imply in those words, *from what themselves were three years past*;) and will not you come a step or two to us for union and peace, and to heale that great schisme, with manie other inconveniences: We have and are coming (blessed be God) a great way to Church reformation and worship, but the points that you would have us come to you in, besides that they are Apocripa not to be found in Scripture, we cannot being a Nation and Kingdome come to you in your way, your Independent government and particular gathered Churches cannot stand with a Nationall Reformation, as some of your way have confessed; and therefore would have but a toleration for themselves, but you may come to our Reformation easilie; though a Nation cannot be contained in a few, yet a few may well in a Nation, besides if you by your confessions differ far lesse from us then what we did from ourselves three years past, why will you for all that great difference in us then, and now, and what need have you to go make new separated Churches from whom you far lesse differ, but what ever you say here of your small difference between you and the Reformed Churches and us, the more to work with the Parliament for a toleration in some lesse differences, yet the differences, are held by you to be greater and more materiall, or else you would close with us so reforming; and among other particulars you differ more from your brethren then your brethren from *themselves three years past*, your brethren being of one Church both then and now, but you and your brethren being of two distinct Churches and communions, you setting up new because you cannot continue in the old with them, and certainlie men of one and the same Church and communion differ lesse among themselves, then persons of a Church and communion set up against that Church, but least from this passage your followers should make use to tax the Ministers of our Church who have desired Reformation with inconstancie, and going according to the times, and your selves make use of it to defend your running so far in your way, the Ministers differing far more from themselves within this three years past then you do from them, I must propound this to prevent those consequences, namelie that most of your brethren both of the Assemblie, and of other parts of the Kingdome, differ little from themselves in judgment from what they held three years past, or many years past, namelie might they have had their desire, and could their votes have carried it, they would have voted our Ceremonies

goverment by Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. this Lyturgie and Sermon-book, and though they now practise not many things they did before, yet some things are forborne as being matter of offence among the people, and other things as having been an occasion of much hurt in the Church, and now there being so open a doore for a full Reformation they do labour after the best, and follow what they judge most for edification now, and condemning all their former practises (especially considering those which are) unlawfull and sinfull.

Apolog. And withall to consider us as those, who in these former times, for many years suffered even to exile, for what the Kingdome it self now suffers in this endeavour to cast out, and who in these present times, and since the change of times, have endured (that which to our spirits is no lesse grievous) the opposition and reproach of good men, even to the threatening of another banishment, and have been through the grace of God upon us, the same men in both, in the midst of these varieties; And finally, as those that do pursue no other interest or designe in a subsistence (be it the poorest and meanest) in our own Land (where we live and may doe further service, and which is our birth-right as we are men) with the enjoyment of the ordinances of Christ (which are our portion as we are Christians) with the allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences with peaceableness, as not knowing where else with safety, health and livelihood, to set our foot on earth.

For my part I wonder with what face you can write this, And withall to consider us as those who in these former times, for many yeares suffered even to exile, and bring it as an argument to the Parliament to consider you the more, namely to grant you a Toleration. All the answer that shall returne is, that the Parliament and Kingdome shall and may do well to looke upon you, and consider you instead of many yeares suffering even to exile, as men who voluntarily went into another Countrey nigh at hand, to live safely out of gun-shot, and there lived richly, plentifully and freely, whilst other godly Ministers lived here in continuall fears, dangers, tossings, suspensions, attachments and consumptions of their estates: It is strange that men should be so farre partiall, as to frame an argument, and make account the more to be considered and favoured for flying away, and deserting the Cause in the open field: Suppose some Captaines and Souldiers in the Parliaments service should put up a Petition to the Houses, forasmuch as they left the rest of the Armie in a distresse, and withdrew in the day of battaile, and never returned til the enemy was put to the worst, and the battell turned, therefore they would be pleased to afford them an exemption from common taxes, &c. and

vouchsafe them some speciall priviledge, what would you think of such a motion? the application is obvious, you deserted the Cause, and in as much as in you lay hazarded all, and yet are not content with this, to come in upon the victorie, and divide the spoiles with those who helped to win the field, to enjoy the prime Lectures and places in and neare the Citie, both of more and profit, with all respect and countenance, from Parliament and Citie, but you would have Peculiars, and enjoy such a way as should shut out all in comparison, an unreasonable request, and a strange instance for all posteritie if it should be granted: For our parts manie of us who bore the heate of the day, stood to it and ventured breaking and undoing manie times over, request no such favour nor exemption, but to take our lot in common with the Kingdome and Ministers in things established; and I know no reason that upon anie considerations either extrinsicall or intrinsicall you should be considered above the godlie Ministers of the Church of England: I know and could give manie to the contrarie, but besides that I have before fulliespoken (more then once) how little there is in this argument of yours so often inculcated of *exile*, and *suffering to exile*, the cause here rendred by you of your suffering *even to exile*, namelie for *what the Kingdome it selfe now suffers in the endeavour to cast out*, is not true, nor proper: For however the Kingdome now suffers for casting out the Hierarchie, and some corruptions in worship, and for a Reformation according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches, yet your suffering unto exile was not for that (for which the non-conformists more forward then you suffered) but your leaving the Kingdome was to enjoy the Church-way, without which (we suppose) you will not be contented, though Ceremonies, Episcopacie and Lyturgie be now cast out by the Kingdome, as the fruit of all their sufferings, but if Presbyterie be settled, and Independencie may not be tolerated, you will go away the second time and may be call that *exile* and *banishment* too: As for your *enduring in these present times and since the change of them, that which to your spirits is no lesse grievous, the opposition and reproach of good men*, by which you would further perswade and move the Parliament to allow you a Toleration, let me mind you that I believe in no age five men practising, and acting as you have done contrarie to the Judgment of all the Churches, and of the Ministers your brethren, and that to the sensible disadvantage of the publique Reformation, ever met with lesse *opposition* and contradiction of good men, and as for reproach none at all: I will not reiterate what I have formerly expressed in *pag. 226, 227.* but it is beyond all precedent the silence, compliance, respects, faire carriage you have been entertained with from the Ministers, and good men, neither *Layher* that eminent

of God and excellent Instrument, nor others could find the like in
 from the Ministers differing from them, and therefore the com-
 very groundlesse, and to speake truth, you were so much the peo-
 plings and Favourites having such a power both with the people, and
 in place, that not to oppose or reproach your persons, but your
 and that but collaterally and interpretatively was enough to un-
 many men as good as your selves, and to blast them with manie
 the present; As for that comparision, the *opposition and reproach* of
 men as grievous to *your spirits* as suffering Exile, I conclude your
 was very gentle then, and I judge both much alike grievous, that
 either; but what tender spirits have you? and what constitution are
 made of? that a little opposition, and reproach of good men (especially
 with it so great applause, and high esteeme to over-balance it) should
 grievous to your spirits as *many years suffering even unto exile*: Many of
 and do endure great oppositions, reproaches, revilings, and scornes
 those who would be thought not only good, but the best men, with
 neglects, sleightings, desertings, and ingratitude, from whom we had
 reason to have expected the contrary, and all this in the shade without
 one beame of speciall favour shining upon us (which though we could
 see, and take notice of all along, and cannot but upon this occasion
 the unthankfulness of many people, leaving all to God to clear
 our unthankfulness, and to convince them) yet we have made no complaints
 the world, nor written *Apologies* for our selves, but through the grace of
 have in patience possessed our soules without much grievousnesse to
 our Consciences within us witnessing we have suffered all this for
 our unthankfulness to God and to his people, and for no other cause given to
 and if *opposition and reproach from good men be no lesse grievous then Exile*,
 of us who have been Anti-Independent have suffered a sore *Exile*
 many yeates then you the *Apologists*: For besides our reproaches during
 of your Exile in *Holland*, we have since your returne from Exile
 to this present day suffered many reproaches, and lost all manner of
 in name, estate, and friends, for nothing else but for appearing a-
 the *Brownists* and *Independents*, and how much in the mean time most
 you have gained all manner of waies is written with a sun-beam: But what
opposition and reproach from good men, you have endured no lesse grie-
 as an Exile for many yeates: you say even the *threatning of another*
 banishment: Is the threatning of another banishment so grievous a matter,
 you here present it to both Houses, as a motive to perswade the Par-
 to grant you a Toleration? *Threatned folks* (they say) *live long*,
 and...

and so may you, you are not yet banished, nor used as men likeli to be
 nished; besides, the good men that threatned it had no power to perform
 it; Banishment belongs not to them, I can hardlie believe it that such bold
 and confident men as you are should be so troubled with threats, (especial-
 lie from men in whose power it lies not,) but you are willing to make a
 thing an argument to both Houses to consider you in that point: If one
 both Houses had threatned you banishment, that might have been as grievous
 to you as your former Exile, but for anie of your fellow-Ministers you might
 have threatned them againe, and have stood upon equall terms; I know
 some cases, and could name how some of you have done it, and when you
 have been spoken to you about your opinions by some Ministers, you have
 given as good as was brought you, and have bid them do their worst, you
 doubted not but by your friends to make your part good, and that you have
 as manie for your way, as they. But for my part, I do not remember anie good
 men who have threatned you with another banishment, some may in reason-
 ing with you have argued against a Toleration of your Independent-Gov-
 ernment, and if you will from thence by consequences say they threatned
 you banishment, I judge this is farre fetched; For my book which (may be)
 is partlie aimed at in this as well as in other passages of your *Apology*, I
 clear it that I threatned you not with banishment, but laboured to let you
 know you might enjoy your consciences in your owne land, and did lay
 down a *Medium* between banishment and a Toleration: As for that which
 you say of your selves, that you have been through the grace of God upon you
 the same men in both in the midst of these varieties: I answer, if you were the
 same men in your Exile as you have been since your return into the King-
 dom, you have no great reason to boast of it, nor to present it to the House
 as a Motive to be the more considered of, for most of you have been in En-
 land verie high and peremptorie, and your owne *Apology* with this *Ap-
 apology* gives a full Character of your carriage here, so that I may turn these
 words thus, *we have been through the corruptions in us, the same men in En-
 land and England, in the midst of these varieties*, namelie seeking our selves
 and our owne particular ends too much, yea too high, confident and per-
 emptorie in our way; As for the close of your *Apologie*, in the last nine lines
*And finally, as those that do pursue no other interest nor design, but a subsistence
 (be it the poorest and meanest) in our own land, &c.* You come in this to the
 which was first in your Intention, though brought in last for a Conclusion
 on purpose to leave a deeper impression in the Parliament at the close of it
 namely, that the Houses would grant you a Toleration of your Independent
 Churches, expressed in these soft and faire words, *the allowance of a latitude*

for differences with peaceableness, which Toleration is ushered in, about, and closed up with what may be most likeliest to take, summing up what is past, all your sufferings and patience in Exile, &c. with your doings for Reformation, and being the same men in conditions, and what is yet to come, laying all together to draw both towards you, and to worke the people of the Kingdom to stand the more you: Now for answer to this close of your *Apology*, as containing end and aime of your writing it, I will first examine the Arguments and expressions brought by you to effect your end, to perswade the first and secondlie, speak to the thing and matter, namelie the Toleration of Independent Churches and Government in this Kingdome.

The first I answer, what you may do for the future, whether you will have *any other Interest nor design in this Kingdom but a subsistence, be it the best and meanest*; I will not prophesie, but if we may argue from what is done, and what yet you do, then there is great cause of feare you have other Interest and designs: for you have and doe pursue the designe of increasing your partie, and spreading your way as the onlie way of truth, why have you preached and done so much for it? neither can I thinke you are so low-spirited and so terrene as to look out after no other end but a poore subsistence in this Kingdome, what have you not the great interest of setting up Christs Kingdom and pure Ordinances amongst of us? I professe for my self and brethren that we have great ends and designs in our seeking Reformation, then a subsistence in this Land (though it might be never so full and plentiful) namelie the glory of God, the advancement of the Kingdome of Christ, the opportunity of doing more service: And as for *a subsistence be it the poorest and meanest*, I appeale to the Conscience of the Reader whether that be likeliest, you contented your selves with a poor and meane condition hitherto? you lived in a poor rank, preaching in poor and mean Congregations, you were not ruffled it, bearing a higher saile, and carrying a greater port of the Godlie Ministers in Citie or Countrey? have not some of the prime Lectures of the Citie, and other good places of advantage and profit (besides what some of you have from your own Churches,) could not been contented to have added more places, and can anie who know what height you live, and what *Grandees* of the times you are, and how much you appeare in publike in the chief places of resort, and have increased into so manie great men, believe that you would live contented with a subsistence (be it the poorest and meanest?) let them believe you who for my part I am not satisfied in the truth of it, but do suspect that if the

Parliament of 1642

Parliament should make an offer to you to this purpose you would refuse. You say you pursue no other Interest or designe, but a subsistence (be it the poorest and meanest) in your owne land, well, you five shall have your Church-way, and enjoy Congregations in such a remote corner of a Kingdome, provided you shall not have above fiftie pounds a year, nor above fiftie persons to each Church, you shall add none from anie other Congregations of the Kingdome, nor admit anie of other Congregations come to hear you, nor never preach in anie of our Churches, anie of our Church-Principles, nor speak of them in private, to anie but your owne members, would this satisfie you? in your Reply give a positive and cleare answer. As for that you say, *where we have and may do further service*, I answer, before you fell into this new Church-way, you did God service, since, you have done more dis-service then ever service, and if God be pleased to bring you back into the fellowship of this Church, and to joyne this Reformation, to grow up into one bodie, you may do him further service; otherwise in the way of a Toleration which you aime at, you will more hurt then you can do good in this Kingdome (yea though you have the tongues and parts of Angels.) As for those words, *a subsistence in the Land which is our birth-right as we are men, and the enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ our portion, as we are Christians*; I answer, a subsistence in the land according to the Lawes established is your birth-right, but not otherwise; besides, the deniall of a Toleration of your Churches doth denie you a subsistence in the Land, but you may subsist if you please, though there be no Toleration: But supposing you may not have what you please, if then upon you will remove to other Kingdomes, that is your fault, and not our States; when a Father or Master lets their children and servants have what is good and fitting, but denies to let them doe what they list, and refuse to grant what would hurt them, if the children and servants will goe away and put themselves upon inconveniences to have their minds and wills contented where, it is not the parents and masters fault, but the children and servants fault, if men will punish themselves with Exile, because they cannot have their wills, they can blame none but themselves. And as for the enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ, which you say are your *portion as you are Christians*, then they are your portion not as Church-members, but as Christians, why then do you keep away manie good Christians from them, for want of being Church-members after your way; but let me tell you, though the Ordinances of Christ be the portion of Christians, yet not in what way you dresse soever they will have them, for so the Papiests may plead to keep them in their way, and the Anabaptists in their way, but they are the

of Christians so as to enjoy them according to the word of God in the
 like Assemblies, and not in a schismaticall way, and so may you enjoy a-
 in publike ordinances in the publike Assemblies, but to forsake the pub-
 Assemblies and draw away others with you, and to set up a wall of sepa-
 between you and the Reformed Churches, this is not your portions as
 are Christians, but it is against Christianity, and is your sin and schisme.
 that allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences with peaceableness;
 need not doubt that, so far as will stand with peaceableness; that is,
 as not to urge subscriptions upon you to all the points of govern-
 and order, nor to cast you out from preaching amongst us though
 may be of a different judgment in some lesser matters (especiallie so
 as you keep your judgments to your selves, and preach not contra-
 what is established to make factions and parties :) But if you meane
 allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences, that you and others
 have free leave to set up separated Congregations, and go and receive
 your Churches whom you please, and governe Independently in a dif-
 forme of government from the government established, I must tell
 this ought not to be granted, as being inconsistent with peace and truth,
 would be a perpetuall root and source of many bitter divisions, errors
 and chiefes in this Kingdome: As for your last words of all, *not know-
 ing where else with safety, health and livelihood to set your feet on earth*; that
 is strange to me, do none of the English Ministers who live in other
 of the World, as in *Holland, New-England* and other places enjoy safe-
 health and livelihood, are these things confined and tied only to *England*?
 and most of you enjoy all these abroad? livelihood is confessed in your
England, a full and liberall maintenance annually; safety you went over
 to, and found; and as for health, some of your way have commended
 where you lived at, to be like *Hartford* and *Bury* in *Suffolke*, and one of
Rutland to be as good, if not better then *London*; which places for
 are sufficiently knowne. And however all these things of no other inte-
 a subsistence in our own land, and of enjoying the ordinances of Christ,
 not knowing where else with safety, health and livelihood to set our feet on
 be held forth as specious pretences to the Parliament and Reader to
 trade and to allure them, yet the bottome of all this desire of a toleration
England (though conceal'd) is that there is no other place on earth, where
 are like to propagate your way, to gain so great a party, to enjoy such full
 rich Congregations, and to have that respect and applause in your way as
England, and in *England* as *London* and the adjacent parts, or where you
 have those faire hopes and probabilities of drawing so great a part of a

Kingdome to your Church-way as here ; and where if you go on to act as diligently and politickly as you have done in these three years last past, and the Ministers be as generallie silent, and the common people of the Kingdome come a little more to understand your principles, and have time to digest and consider of the great liberty and power they have thereby, the rest of the Kingdome may in time come to be beholding to you for a toleration of Presbyterie (if it be established) (which you will as soon grant, if you come to have power in your hands, as you will Episcopacie and Popery,) many of your Church-way ordinarily affirming they had rather have Episcopacie then Presbyterie ; and it hath been affirmed to me by a Minister of note, that a Minister of the Church-way preferred Popery in this Kingdome before Presbyterie, for if Popery should come in, it would be but short lived, but Presbyterie was like to be long lived. The Arminians in the *Netherlands* at first desired but a Toleration, no more but to be permitted to enjoy in some Churches of their own their consciences with peaceableness, but afterwards that by the connivance and favour of the Magistrates, they were in some Cities and places (as *Amsterdam, &c.*) grown to a great number, and had a great power, then they would not suffer nor tolerate the Orthodox Ministers, but persecuted them, and some were forced to flee (as in the stories of the *Netherlands* is at large recorded:) And if ever the Independents by connivance or a toleration should come to have a power and strength considerable, if they serve not us so, I am much deceived : All Sectaries and contentious spirits who are but tolerated, and not owned, will watch all advantages to set up their own way as chiefe, and when they have a power, will be impetuous and violent to affect it, as the *Anabaptists* in *Germany* were, the Arminians in *Holland*, and the Antinomians and Familists in *New-England*. As women out of their weakness and feare when they have power over any are most cruel, so Sectaries out of their feare least a State may one time or other cast them out and not tolerate them, will upon an advantage suppress and destroy the Orthodox, and establish their own.

2. As for the matter it selfe contained in the close of your book, a Toleration of Independent Churches and government, the scope and last end of this Apologie, whereunto tends all the artifice and fallacies in the composition of it, I shall lay down some Reasons and grounds against it : I cannot stand to handle the question at large about Toleration of different Religions, or of divers Sects and opinions in one and the same Kingdome, (this answer being already a great deale longer then I intended it.) I cannot now open the termes and premise the distinctions, as distinguishing concerning the nature and kind of errors, concerning the persons erring, concerning the

and degrees of Toleration and coercion, &c. I shall reserve the full
 of this point, whether toleration be lawfull, to a particular Tractate
 upon that subject. In the meantime upon occasion of what you pre-
 sent to the Parliament, I shall humbly submit to their considerations
 the following particulars.

Reason A Toleration of Independent Churches and government with
 opinions and practise, is against the Magistrates duty laid down in Scri-
 but for Magistrates by good lawes to command and require obedi-
 to the government and Reformation, upon good grounds judged to be
 according to the Word of God, and so established, is lawfull and their duty.
 For the clearing of which I premise two things, which I suppose must
 be granted. 1. That the Magistrate is *custos ac vindex utriusq; Tabu-*
læ confessed by all Orthodox Divines, that the care of Religion be-
 longeth to him, and that he is to look to it that the Church of God and the
 government of it be constituted & settled according

to the Word, and that the people may lead a peacea-
 ble and quiet life in all godlinesse and honesty, for
 Kings and Princes and Magistrates are to make Lawes

*1. 2. Confess. Fid. cap. 1. de
 Ecclesia spect. 44. de Chris-
 tiani Magistratus officio.*

for the observing of the Worship and Government of Christs Church, for
 punishing with religious severity those things which are practi-
 sed against the Word of God, but commanding what is according to it, this
 is one of the great services they yeeld to Christ as they are Magistrates; and
 as Augustine and other Divines, giving that sense of *Psalm 2. 10. 11. of
 Kings and Judges serving the Lord with feare, and of Deut. 17. 19. of God
 commanding the King to read the booke of the Law, that he may learn to observe
 the things which are written in it, not onely as private men practising these
 and watering their lives according to the Word, but as Kings they should
 discharge their Office by the Word, not onely by living holily (for so they
 are God as men) but as Kings and Magistrates by making Lawes for the
 worship of God, and prohibiting the contrary. 2. That the Reformation
 of Worship, Government, &c. which shall be settled and established by the
 Parliament is judged and taken for granted by them to be according to the
 Word of Christ, else why have they called so many able, godly and learned
 Divines to consult with for that purpose, and stood so much for a Reforma-
 tion according to the Word? and why else will they establish it, if there be
 any other more agreeable to the Word? so that whatsoever other govern-
 ment after all debates and reasonings is rejected and refused, must be thought
 to have such a ground in the Word, for if it had, why was it not established
 at first, but comes to seek for a Toleration and Connivance? Now then*

By vertue of many Scriptures both in the old and new Testament, the Examples of the Kings of Judah in commanding and requiring all the people to yeeld to the Reformation made by them (and in particular the Spirit of God

commendeth *Josiah* for making all Jerusalem and Benjamin
2 Chron. 34. 31. to stand to the Covenant which he had made with God)

3^d. The fourth Commandement requiring of the Father of the Family

ly, that he see all under his power and charge to worship God (upon which learned Divines (as *Zanchinus*) excellently show the duty of Magistracy in reference to commanding and providing that their people shall worship God according to his will) *Rom.* 13. 4. *Ephes.* 5. 11. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. 2 *John* 11. 9.

Revel. 2. 20. with many other places in Scripture of removing away of evil and of not consenting to evill, &c. the Parliament is bound to establish and

command obedience to that Reformation which is judged most agreeable to the Word, and to suppress and hinder all other: It was excellently done by

the Parliament to call together so many able, godly, and Orthodox Divines to debate and find out the mind and will of God, for Doctrine, Worship, and

Discipline, and to give liberty to men of different judgments, to bring in their grounds, and after all waies of enquire and searching into truth, and a

well drawn up for them upon good grounds being satisfied, 'tis their duty by their power and authority to bind men to the decrees of the Assembly; and

not to tolerate any other Doctrines, Churches, Worship or Government to be set up and exercised; you ought not to suffer the weak to be destroyed

nor the people to be drawn away by every wind of doctrine, but when upon good grounds the Reformation is concluded, you must defend it against

troublesome and turbulent spirits, and in so doing God will be with you, and subdue the people under you; whereas if to please some people you suffer

them to enjoy their own way, God will not be well pleased with it, neither can you answer it unto God: You may lawfully, nay ye ought in that which

is good to compell men (though they pretend conscience) shall the consciences of other mens consciences hinder you from yeelding that service which God re-

quireth of you? may a Parliament displease God to please men? or may they be partakers of other mens sins, and wink at evill to content some persons?

No, Parliaments in making lawes for Religion must depend on the will of God revealed in his Word in the best and likeliest waies communicated to

them, and not upon the consciences of some people.

2. Reason, The Toleration desired is against the solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, taken by the Parliament, and the Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and so cannot be condiscended to without breach of that

Oath and Covenant, so that the Apologic and motion for a Toleration cannot

the doore is shut against it, the Kingdomes hands are bound, so that a Toleration were not in its selfe unlawfull, and against the duty of Magistrate, yet now because of the Oath and Covenant 'tis unlawfull, so that never might have been granted before, cannot now, lest the Kingdomes should be guilty before God of Covenant-breaking: Now a Toleration thus moving for a Toleration by the Apologists is expresse against the branches of the Covenant: 1. Against that clause in the first branch of the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of England and Ireland, *Worship, Government and Discipline according to the Example of the Reformed Churches*; now in this Petition to both Houses you would exempt from the Reformation of the best Reformed Churches, so that you understand the Brownists, *New-England*, or your own Churches the best Reformed, you have broken your Covenant, but though you understand it so, and may be took the Covenant in that sense, yet I suppose cannot think the Parliament (whom you sue to for a Toleration) the best Reformed Churches in that acceptation, but for the Reformed Churches so called and commonly known, as of *France, &c.* so that their grant of Toleration would be against this clause of the best Reformed Churches. 2. Against another clause in the first branch: *And shall endeavor to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Forme of Church Government, Discipline, Worship and Catechising*: Now if the Parliament hath covenanted to grant a Toleration of so different a Forme of Church Government and Worship; as the Independent way is from the Presbyterie, and how can you be excused from explicate formall breach of Covenant in this part of your Apologie, having sworn and subscribed to bring by all means to bring the Churches of God in these three Kingdomes to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, who in this are labouring and endeavouring, or ever so much as trying whether the rest of the Churches may not be brought into a neerer Conjunction and Uniformity, just before the time the Assembly was coming to fall on these points in difference, to put out this Apologie, and to move for a Toleration, before hearing what could be said to you for satisfaction, or settling the points in the Assembly: *Is this to endeavour by all means to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, &c.* before so much as ever debating points, or concluding magisterially (as you do in pages 22. and 24.) against the Reformation of the Churches, and to desire an exemption from Conjunction and Uniformity of the rest of the Churches in this Kingdom. 3. 'Tis against that clause

in the second branch, *that we shall in like manner without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of schisme, and whatever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine and the power of Godlinesse, lest we partake in other mens fault.* Now that which you move for is schisme and contrary to sound Doctrine, the Church-way being a schisme, besides manie of your Church-Principles are against sound Doctrine, and the power of Godlinesse, as that in your Apologie about the subject of Excommunication, as that of a few people having power to joyn together, and set up a Church and chuse what Ministers they will, as that of the Independencie of particular Congregations from any *Authoritative power, &c.* so that the Parliament in the midst of their Reformation and blessed Conjunction according to the Word of God with the Reformed Churches, should in allowing you a Toleration suffer a formal schisme, both in Worship and Government in the midst of these Kingdomes. 4. This toleration sued for is against a part of the fourth branch endeavouring the discovery of such as have been evill Instruments by hindring Reformation of Religion, or making any faction or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant: Now the Parliament is bound by this against all persons and things which hinder the Reformation, and makes no faction or parties amongst the people: now whether a Toleration granted, yea but moved for would not hinder the Reformation of Religion, or make Faction and Parties amongst the people, let it be considered: I confesse I wonder how the Apologists ever took this Covenant, or having taken it, that they should ever dream more of a Toleration, or thinke it possible the Parliament should grant it, the Covenant being so direct against Toleration: Manie of the Church-way and Communion have and doe apprehend all this, that taking the Covenant and a Toleration of Independencie cannot stand together, and thereupon there are Ministers and people of that way had not taken it (whatever they may of late.) I have been told from a good hand, that some of the Apologists had much adoe to bring themselves to take it, and that it was a bitter pill to get down, and one of some quality assured me that M. Nye told him in Scotland, that when the Covenant had passed there, and was to be sent for England, he writ with earnestnesse, and possible Conjurments to M. Goodwin, and M. Bridge, &c. to oppose it, or be against it, as much fearing how it would go downe. I conclude this Reason, For the Parliament to allow such a latitude as a Toleration, it would be against the solemne Covenant: For the Ministers to be silent, and not to witness against such a Toleration desired would be in the breach of the Covenant, and therefore in respect to the Covenant I have taken, I here witness against Toleration of different Sects and Churches.

people by vertue of their Covenant are by all waies and means in their
and callings engaged to oppose such a Toleration, by their prayers to
against it, &c. Lastly our Brethren of *Scotland* are engaged with all
power and might in their places to oppose it: Now the Apologists
reasoning for a Toleration have not only broken the Covenant them-
selves, but they endeavour by all their wit and art in this Apologie to bring
Parliament and Kingdome into so great a guilt as the breach of this so-
lemn Covenant.

Reason. A Toleration is against the nature of Reformation, a Refor-
mation and a Toleration are diametrically opposite; The commands of God
in his Word for Reformation, with the Examples of Reforming Go-
vernments Civill and Ecclesiasticall, do not admit of a Toleration, how ma-
ny might be produced out of some Sermons and Lectures of the Apo-
stles concerning the nature of Reformation, and of the Magistrates duty
in Reformation, which crosse and thwart Tolerations? and if the consciences
of men being satisfied must be a dispensation against removing such a
thing or commanding such a thing, there will never be no perfect nor tho-
rough Reformation, for what generall Reformation can there be but will be
of many mens consciences? the taking away of what men have long
loved, and the bringing in of quite other things will trouble many con-
sciences, and if Magistrates or Ministers may not settle things contrary to
the consciences of many, but tolerate and allow them wherein they plead
conscience, they shall never do Gods work: In King *Edwards* and *Queene*
Marys Reformations, how was it against the consciences of many, ta-
king away the Masse, Confession to the Priest, bringing in the Common-
prayer Book: In this present Reformation, how much is it against many
consciences, the taking away the Government of the Church by Bi-
shops, the present Lyturgie and establishing another Government and Form
of Publicke Worship, who if they might be allowed a Toleration would
obscure a Reformation, must not the Assembly and Parliament proceed
in the worke of Reformation, because all mens consciences are
satisfied? If this Principle were one given way to, that nothing might
be removed, nor nothing brought in which offends consciences, but in such
persons must have a liberty and Toleration, men would still pretend
conscience, and so nothing to purpose should ever be reformed publicly,
all the Scripture speaks of Nationall and Generall Reformation by
the commanding and commending, it should be just nothing, depending
upon Tolerations, that is; there shall be a Reformation unlesse men
desire

desire a Toleration, and the upshot of all will be this, that so manie of one mind shall enjoy their way, and so manie of another mind their way, and they who will yeeld to the Reformation by *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* were there ever such Reformations read of in the Scriptures?

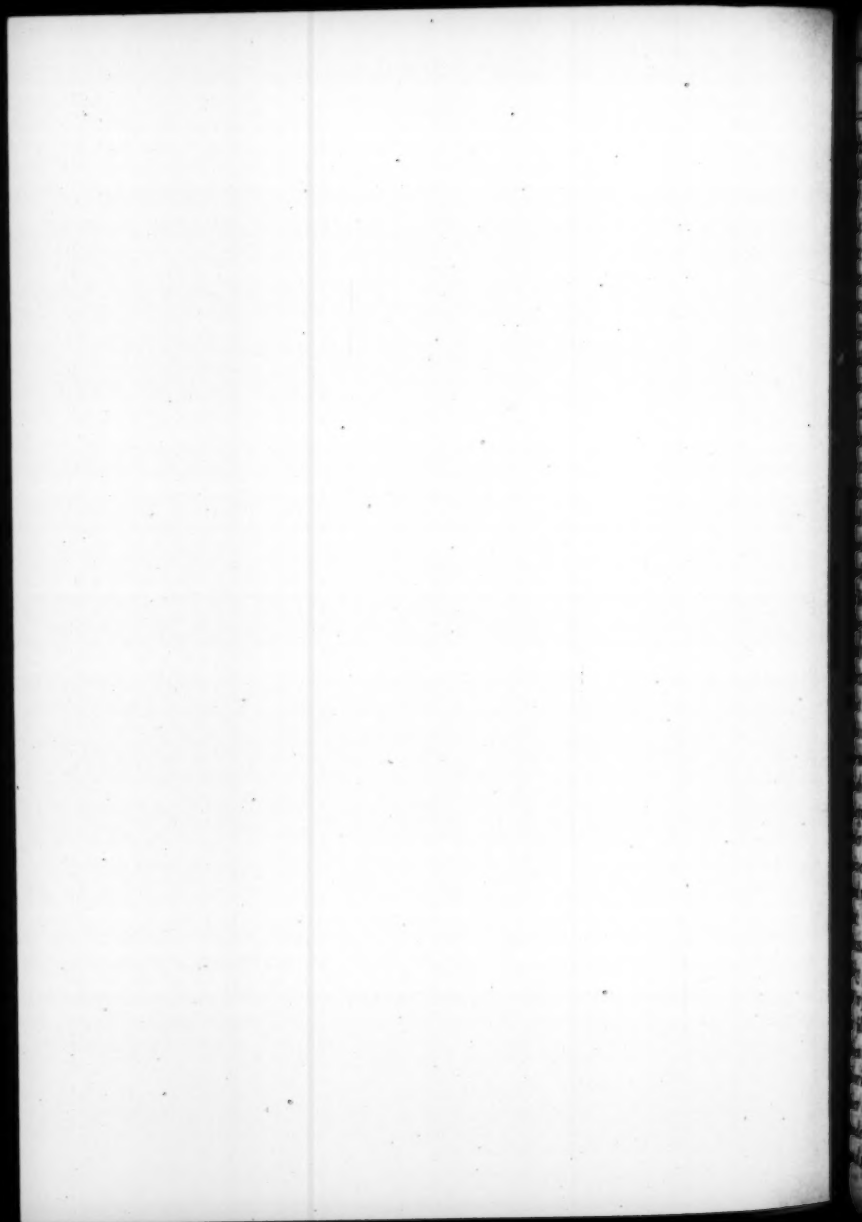
4. *Reason.* A Toleration of men in their errors, this pretended Liberty of conscience, is against the iudgment of the greatest lights in the Church both ancient and moderne. I might out of Ecclesiasticall Histories, as *Therulph* &c. relate the praises of those Emperours, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, &c. who would not suffer the meetings of the Heretiques, but did by positive Lawes amerce and banish them, as also the brands and blemishes cast upon the Emperours who suffered the *Arrians* and other Heretiques: I might out of *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, *Calvin*, *Philip Melancthon*, *Peter Martyr*, *Zachary Musculus*, *Bullinger*, bring many sentences against Tolerations, and leave men to the liberty of their owne consciences, and how by Lawes and Discipline Magistrates may command obedience to the Worship of God established, and to return into the Unity of the Church: But out of many I

Epist. 48. Augustinus Vincenzio ex haeresi Rogatiana docens se fuisse aliquando ejus sententia ut arbitraretur cum haeretico nulla vi, sed solo Dei verbo agendum, verum aliorum sententia ex exemplis superatum mutasse sententiam.

give you the judgement of two, *Augustine*, and *Beza*: *Augustine* in his Epistle to *Vincenzio*, writes to this purpose, declaring to him, though he was sometimes of that opinion, that erroneous opinions should not be dealt with by force but onely the Word of God, yet now by the arguments of others, and by the visible examples of many being reduced from errors by that meanes, he changed his judgement, and that therefore the Lawes of Princes might lawfully made use of against errors. And for this coactive power, he brings many grounds in that Epistle, and he speaks thus: *If we tolerate men in errors, and nothing be thought upon or done by us which may be likely to confute and recover them, we shall truly render evill for evill: If men be compelled and terrified, but not instructed, this is a tyrannizing over them, but again, if they be taught and not feared, they will move the slower to go in the way of light: Every one who spares is a Friend, nor every one who chastiseth is an Enemy: dost thou thinke no force is to be used to a man that bee may be delivered from the perniciousnesse of his error, when as wee know God himselfe doeth in many Examples, and speaking on that point, he saith, it must needs be so much considered that a man is compelled, as what that is to which he is compelled: In this Epistle the Father answers some objections brought against compelling men, as that this does no good to some, as that it*

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tion, as that these Heretiques
 did not do so, &c. so he writes in
 his Epistle to Boniface, and in
 his Epistle to Donatus upon the
 same subject; And *b* in his Retracted
 he retracts this error which he
 formerly held, and had writ of, that
 we must please him that schismatics
 are compelled and forced to Com-
 mune by the force of any secular pow-
 er, he gives his reason there of the
 error of his judgment from what he
 formerly held, because now he had ex-
 perience how much evill the Toleration
 of them did, as also how much
 diligence of Discipline would
 be to the making of them better.
 And in his Epistles and other writ-
 ings speaks much against Tolerations
 and the libertie of Conscience pleaded for,
 and answers to that, whether
 the libertie of Conscience is to be permitted? No, as this libertie is understood,
 that every man may worship God after what manner he will himselfe. For
 it is a meer diabolicall opinion, That every one is to be suffered that if he will
 worship. And in the same Epistle he saith of Tolerations, This is that
 diabolical liberty which hath filled Polonia and Transylvania with so many
 sorts of opinions, which otherwise else no countries under the Sun would have
 had. And in his Epistle he tels him to whom he writes, that which I per-
 ceive you call liberty of conscience, but I on every side call an open destruction
 of the Church: So in this Confession of Faith under that head of the office of
 a Christian Magistrate he speaks
 of His office is to preserve the pub-
 lic peace and quietnesse: now whereas that cannot be rightly done, but the true
 worship of God must flourish in the first place, from whence flowes all happinesse,
 it follows that nothing ought to be more looked to by the Christian Magistrates
 than to have the Church ordered according to the rule of Gods Word, whose au-
 thoritie they may defend and vindicate against all contentners and disturbers: nei-
 ther are they here to be hearkned unto who
 under the make and colour of false pitie
 and mercy, and not only by vain & foolish

* Augustinus Bonifacio viro militari de Caesaris
 comitatu, dominum suum illi Donatistam, heresi-
 sin nihil habere commune cum Arriano, & qua
 moderationis per litteras legum imperium heresi-
 ti possunt ad ecclesie societatem reduci. a. Au-
 gustinus Donato presbytero Donatista, qui cum
 citaretur ad concilium conatus sit sibi vim inferre,
 suadet ut re sibi per se recipiat ducens pri-
 vatum voluntatem recte coram ad meliorem. b. Augu-
 stinus Retract. lib. 2. cap. 5. Quod verè tunc mi-
 hi non placebat, quia nondum expertus eram,
 vel quantum malicorum auderet impunitas, vel
 quantum in eis melius mutandis conferre posset
 disciplina Disciplina

c. Nuncius hic quidem libertas intelligitur, id
 est, ut qui quisset, modo vult Deum colat: Est
 enim hoc mera diaboli non dogma, Sinendum esse
 unumquemque ut si vult pereat, & illa est dia-
 bolica libertas qua Polonia & Transylvaniam
 hodie tot pestibus implevit, quas nulla aliqui
 sub sola regionis tolerarent. Rexa epist. prima.
 Rexa epist. 4.

c. Rexa Confess. Fid. de Eccl. ca. 5. sect. 44. de
 Christiani Magistratus officio.

Rex De Hereticis à civili Magistratu puniendis,
 ad. ersus Martini Belisforta. item & innotum
 Acad. micorum sectam.

arguments, but arguments joyned with a great deal of impiety do exempt false prophets and heretiques from the sword of Princes, when as on the contrary many of men are to be compelled with greater severity, as the expresse word of God commands, and religious Princes have alwaies done: And upon that subject the Heretiques ought to be punished by the Civill Magistrate, he hath writ above at large, answering all the objections for Toleration and pretended liberty of conscience: And to the judgment of the Fathers, and the Moderne Writers in this point, I will adde the judgment of the Divines of New-England

Church Govern-
ment and Church
Covenant discus-
sed, quest. 31.

who are against the Toleration of any Church-Government and way but one: For the Discipline appointed by Jesus Christ for his Churches is not arbitrary, that one Church may let one and practise one forme, and another another forme, as each shall please, but is one and the same for all Churches, and in all Essentials and Substantials of it unchangeable, and to be kept till the appearance of Jesus Christ. And if that Discipline which we here practise be (as we are persuaded of it) the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable, we see not how another can be lawfull. And so in New-England they will

* Mr. Cotton pouring
out of the seven Vials,
Vial 3. pag. 16, 17, 21.
Vial 4. pag. 17.

suffice Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Mr. Cotton the greatest Divine in New-England, and a pretious man, is against Toleration, and holds that men ought to be punished for their consciences, as will appear by Letter to M. Williams, and M. Williams answer, (both printed) and his position on the Vials, wherein he answers an objection: But you will say conscience should not be forced, &c. he answers, Why do you think Heretiques were not as conscionable in the old Testament as now? if any man had a conscience that turned men from God, he would have men of as much conscience to cut them off.

5. Reason. The Magistrates Toleration of errors and new opinions is a kind of Invitation to them, a Temptation, and occasion of many falling, who therwise never would, a snare to many, a stumbling-block laid before the weake, the leaving a pit or well uncovered, an opportunity for Satan to work upon, or seducers to work upon, and to draw away by: when men may broach opinions and vent them, hold and practise what they please without any danger, nay with the leave and countenance of the Magistrate, what advantage will not Satan and wanton witted men take by this opportunity makes many a thiefe, and unpunitie makes manie venture, and as it shewd temptation to make manie fall, so a Toleration is a means of corruption in the way of error, a great block to stop up the way of manie might be gained, for ever returning, when men know they may have their own way and are at their libertie, they will go on, the engagement of

much being in a way to conſtance in it, they have no neceſſitie of going to Councell, or weighing arguments: But the deniall of a Toleration by poſitive Lawes commanding the contrarie, as tis a great Preſentation, is a Reſtorative, and a meanes of recovering many; when men ſee they cannot have their wiſe, they will conſider a little better what they do, as we their former thoughts, and ſo may be reduced; yea, multitudes bleſſed God they have not been left to their own libertie, but that by way of Diſcipline meanes have been uſed: This evill of Tolerations, and of Conſtitutions by Lawes hath been ſeen and approved of by long experience, and ſiſſine that holy and learned Father from the experience of this and his judgment about Tolerations, whereas it was his firſt judgment, that in a former Book writ, that it did not pleaſe him that Schiſmaticks ſhould be compelled and forced to communion by the force of any ſecular Law: afterwards he was of another mind, and writes that the grounds of ſome were theſe: 1. The great evill of Tolerations, the great evill that was made many yeres into. 2. The great good compulſion conferred to the Church by many better, which he ſaw by many Examples of whole Cities conſideration from Donatiſme, and coming to the Unity of the Church: In the ſame formerly quoted, he writes thus to Vincentius, That it was his opinion, that no man was to be compelled to the Unity of the Church, all was to be by perſwaſion, we were to ſtrive by diſputation, and to overcome by reaſon, we ſhould make thoſe ſained Catholiques, whom we knew to be open Heretiques; my opinion was overcome, not by words, but by demonſtrative examples, that of all my owne City was brought to me for an Example, which being wholely Donatiſt, was converted to the Catholike Unity by the feare of the Imperiall Law: ſo many other Cities were named and reckoned up to me, to theſe examples brought me by my Colleagues, I gave place: we ſee not a few men, but many Cities who were Donatiſts to be now Catholiques, and vehemently to deteſt that Diabolicall ſeparation, and zealouſly to love unity: which perſons were the meanes and occaſion of this feare (which diſpleaſes you) made Catholique by the Lawes of the Emperours from Conſtantine downe to theſe preſent Emperours: How many did therefore remain Donatiſts becauſe they were ſo bold, and no men did compell them to come out from them, and to go to the Catholique Church: The terror of theſe Lawes, in the promulgation of which Kings of the Earth ſerved the Lord, did ſo proſit all theſe, that now others ſay, that God who hath broken our bonds, and hath tranſlated us to the bond of Unity, ſorry we did not know this to be the truth, neither would we have leaſt ſuſpect had been left to our liberty, but feare made us attentive to know it: ſo ſay, we were terrified from entering in by false feares, which we ſhould never have

have knowne to have been false, but by entering in, neither should we have intr-

August. cont. Gaudens. Epist. lib. 2. cap. 17.
Quod autem vobis videtur, minus ad verum.
rem non effugit, quod vultis asserere. Sicut in-
rat, inquit, vultum Dei, qui est volens facit,
dum coguntur inviti.

August. Retract. lib. 1. c. 1.
Verba Epist. 2. Taceo quod vultis adversus

Donatistas et Co-municantes Augustinus re-
spicitur peritiam ista edictum, plerumque in-
superis, ut nulla. v. max. quam severitatem
officio continetur, sed in quadam pa-
formidine vitarunt: idemque postea libenter
fugiant, ut asserunt illas sibi subvertimur
fuisse cessant.

called) was the ground of filling *Polonia* and *Transylvania* with so pestilential opinions, which otherwise no people under the Sun would have suffered, and that if the Magistrate had tryed by all means in *Transylvania* &c. to have restrained that liberty, they had not been brought to that condition which he judged no lesse miserable then *Mohometisme* is. And he wishes that *France* had given *Polonia* an example of this one thing, and shew the great difference between the peace and true liberty of conscience enjoyed at *Geneva*, and in *Polonia*, one granting Tolerations, the other none.

(d) he shewes the benefit and good of compulsion, (d) *Augustine* being taught by experience to passe by that, *Augustine* being taught by experience to witness so often against the *Donatists*, many to be of the

disposition that they are by nothing more kept in duty then by severity of Discipline, so that what at first they left for feare of punishment, after wards they willingly cast away, professing the sharpnesse used to have been very profitable. We have seen also by our own experience in this intermitticall season (though there hath been no formall Toleracion) yet for want of Government, seeing the people having been left to so great liberty, multitudes are fallen, and do fall ly to *Antinomianisme*, *Anabaptisme*, *Independency*, yea to deny the immortality of the Soule, and then no expectation but many will fall more and more. Independents and all kind of Sectaries (as long as they can have their liberty) inuffe up the wind, will not hearken to any way whereby they may receive satisfaction, but if once the Magistrate declares, and by lawes conduct one way of Church-worship and Government, then it may be they will heare Reason: Men as long as they have any hopes will stand out, who when they see no remedy, will examine and consider: Now what remedy

will exact for his Name prophaned, for the Sacraments and Scriptures by the handling and administration of them who are not called, and answer must be made for the ruine of Soules, harvest of sinne, corruption of doctrine alwaies following the publike Toleration of heresies and sectes. I humbly leave to be fully considered of, and wisely prevented by the Court of Parliament, who must think, that silence provokes, and silence emboldens men to forsake Gods Truth and his Church, even as in matters the neglecting of justice maintains disorders.

A Toleration of one or more different waies of Churches and Government, from the Church and Church Government established, is to this Kingdome very mischievous, pernicious and destructive, in respect of the effects and consequents of it; how faire soever a Toleration may be intended, and how small soever the differences, yet 'tis of a vast consequence to this Kingdome: Different Formes of Churches and Government in one state must needs lay a foundation of strife and contention therein. It is the admitting of a seed of perpetuall division within the state, an opening a sluice to let in strife and contentions in all places publick and private, Church and Common-wealth, in Parliaments, Corporations, among the Ministers, in Families: Now how great an evill this is, all men know, and can stand with no Christian poynt, however it may appear. *Machiavilian*: The different Interests and Principles of the sects established and tolerated with other things concurrent, especiallie the party tolerated, apprehending themselves the weaker, will be wrought upon to watch all advantages to grow and increase, and to get into the favour with great men and Princes (as we see the Heretiques did in the Reformation, and the *Arminians* in the Netherlands with the *Calvinists*, and will never rest working till they get the upper hand, and overcome the other.) But besides the continuall heart-burnings and divisions among the Ministers of the different Churches, the people among themselves, the husband and wife with the corruption of doctrine, a Toleration is a likely meanes of producing civill warres in this Land; and whereas we have a war between King and Parliament, we may expect a war between the people, yea the Toleration desired would prove a mighty advantage to the Court party to make use of those sects, and by enlarging some of them (being the weaker party to gain them) by their helpe to overthrow the Government established, and to advance the Prerogative; the disorders and mischiefs already (without any formall Toleration) of the different Churches and Governments, do appeare in the jealousies, divisions, delays, laying down of places, in not being so active, &c. whereby the

Court party is strengthened, Reformation hindered, and the good part weakened: Now considering the many dangerous effects and consequences of a Toleration to this State, and considering the small differences between the *Apologists* and the *Presbyterians* (as themselves say) and that they can for a need come to our Churches, and partake in the Sacraments, *hold Communion with us as the Churches of Christ*, why should they have different Churches and Government allowed? The Parliament upon so small a ground and needlesse a cause hath the less cause to give way to a Toleration, which would certainly produce too great the chiefs and evils.

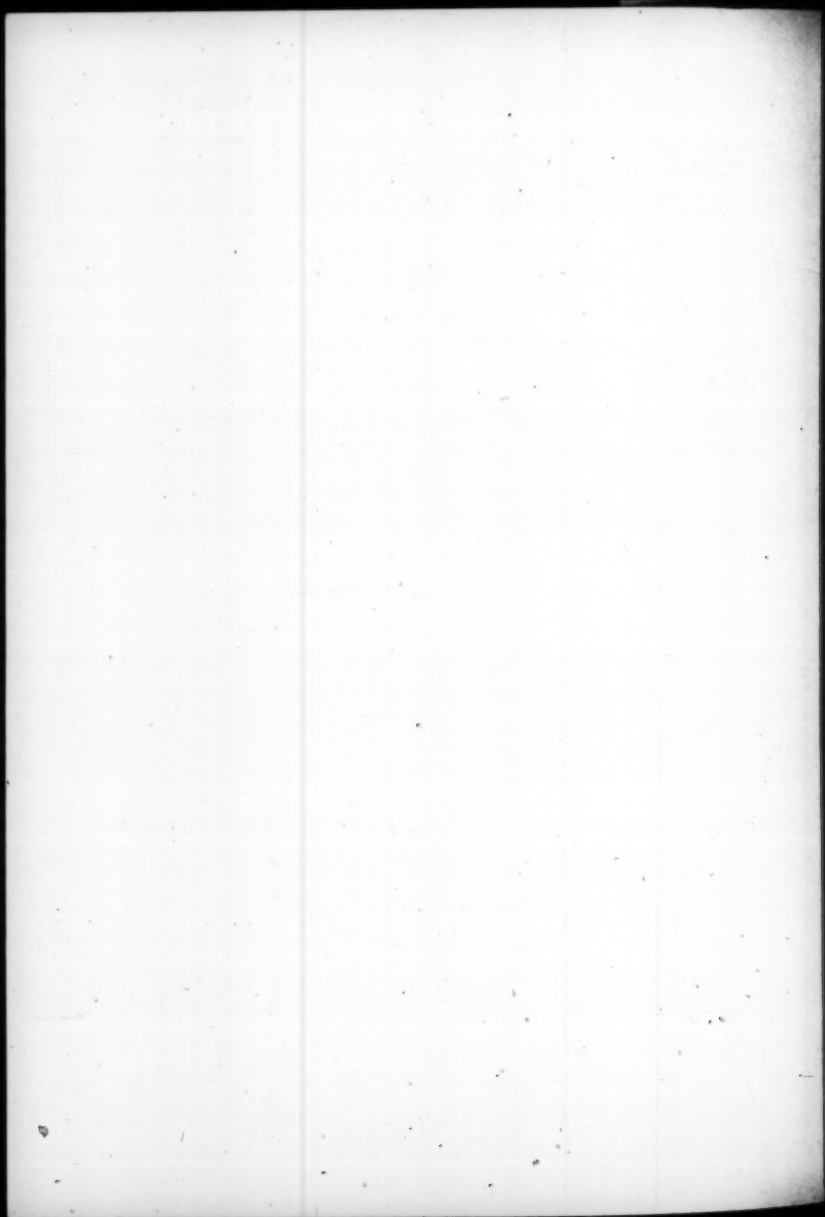
7. *Reason.* Independencie and the Churchway besides the evil of it in selfe considered, (as being a schisme in forsaking the reformed Churches and constituting new, the way of constituting Churches by the people, the way of making their Ministers, the refusing of beleivers and their Children to the Sacraments (unlesse they be Church-members) with many more, all against the Primitive patterns) hath ever been from first to last a fountain of evil and a root of bitterness, of many bitter divisions and separations amongst themselves, of manifold errors and other mischiefs in those Churches and places where they lived, God having alwaies witnessed against it, never blessing it with peace and truth. I shall not need to relate the history of the Anabaptists (the highest forme of Independencie and the Churchway), what evils they fell into, and the mischiefs they brought upon *manie*, and how God cursed and scattered them: As for the Brownists, the middle forme of Independencie, the Apologists themselves confesse they have had *farall miscarriages and shipwracks*; And I could tell a sad storie (but that would be now too long) even from *Bolton* and *Browne* the first and greatest leaders down to the present Brownists at *Amsterdam*, of the Apostatic Heresies, Separations and bitter divisions, with the untimely fearfull effects which have fallen out amongst them, but in respect my book so much exceeds the proportion intended, I shall reserve that for a more distinct handling. And for the semi-Brownists and Independents (so cal'd by way of distinction) they have not been free; The Churches of the Apologists have had their bitter divisions and fearfull miscarriages, as the Reader may remember in these pages of this present Answer, pag. 35, 36, 37, 142, 143, 144. Some erroneous conceits, fall'd into and preached in one of the Churches. So in the Churches of *New-England* there have been so manie errors, differences, and evils, that I believe had we but a true impartiall storie of *England* for the first seven or eight years (after they were come to America) we should have the strangest storie (next that of the Anabaptists)

nists) one of them in the world; in a word, they were brought by
 Independencie and Church-Principles next door to ruine both spiri-
 tuall and temporall, the sad experience of which hath made them wheele a-
 round later yeares towards Presbyteriall-government, and instead of that,
 they yet formallie come to it, to take *aliquid analogum* in the first con-
 sideration of Churches, making Ministers, &c. which at first they did not, and
 gave more power to Classes and Synods then they did manie years ago,
 comparing some Letters from thence in those times written by Mini-
 sters into England, and M. Cottons late book will be evident. In a word,
 they will observe it shall finde the end of Independencie infinite schisms,
 divisions, errours, inconstancie and uncertaintie in judgment, yea barba-
 rous confusion, and the Toleration of it by this State would be the o-
 pening of a flood-gate to manie other errours and evils besides what evil
 there is, being a way all along wherein it differs from the Reformed
 Churches either beside or against the Word of God: And should the Par-
 liament (which God forbid, and I hope is farre from their thoughts) give
 Independents a Toleration of their way and Churches, they should give
 us now not what, having never yet spoken out all that they hold (this
 way containing but a little part of their way) besides taking in their
 great principle, page 10. Apolog. of not making their *present judge-
 ment practise a binding Law for the future*, the Parliament may grant grosse
 error, Anabaptisme, within a short time, manie falling off according to
 the principles of new light, to cast off communion with their owne
 Churches as some of M. Sympsons have done; and let it be but remembered
 also, write, whether some of the Apologists (if they come not in and
 with the Reformed Churches) doe not within a few years go a great
 way further, I think, had they staid together in *Holland* till this time, with
 some hopes of a Toleration here, some of them had gone farre by this
 way: Anointing with oyle was begun to be brought in, Hymnes had
 been moved for in one of their Churches, and if I may believe the report of a
 person in an open company, affirming it again and again, when I
 was in, that a member of the Church of *Arnheim* (who was also named
 so) related, that had they staid there a little longer, the ordinance of
 Communion had been practised amongst them, one being chosen and agreed upon
 by the Church to exercise that Ordinance. And I am able to demonstrate it, that
 the Apologists keeping but to their principles (besides the principle of a Re-
 form) must yet go a great way further, and supposing the Parliament should
 make a proposition to them, We shall grant you this and this, and so (which
 is their present principles you hold forth) but if you bring in any thing more

or go farther, then your Churches shall be dissolved, and we will recall what we granted you (because we will be sure to know what we allow in matters of Religion, be at a certainty for that,) I do not think the Apologists would accept of a Toleration upon those termes, and such a condition: The beginnings of errors commonly are most modest, but let alone sometime, they exceed all bounds, how far most of the Arminians proceeded beyond what Arminius held, or themselves at first; the learned books of many Divines and experience shewes, and if a Toleration were granted to the Apologists and those of their communion to exercise their consciences, I feare before a year went about many would turn Anabaptists, &c. but I desire rather to pray against a toleration, then to prophesie of the evil of it: But supposing the best that can be, that the State had an Assurance the Apologists and the Churches would not go one step further then now they hold; and that the Toleration should not be made use of to any further errors; yet the Parliament could not allow it, unlesse they would grant a Toleration of Brownisme; and if Brownisme be a bitter errour and way, then the way of the Apologists is not very sweet; their way being but Browns younger brothers agreeing with the Brownists in the nature and definition of the visible Church in the Independent power of a particular Congregation, in the way of making Officers, in the way of their ordinances, as Prophesying, in the way of Fort of Prayer, in the Sacraments, none to be admitted but Church members, *multis alijs*, and I desire the Apologists to give any materiall difference (how ever their grounds are different, and they do not go so far in consequences, are not so grosse) between their Churches and the Brownists: As for the of the power of the people and the Officers, in giving the power to the Officers, but the Brownists to the people. I answer, however the Apologists differ in that point from the Brownists, in words, phrases, methods, and give us many fine words and flattering similitudes, going about, yet the truth they differ not in substance in their practise, but all comes to one end and issue, and all is resolved into the body of the Congregation, and their power from first to last amongst the Apologists as well as amongst the Brownists (though here 'tis carried in a fairer way, as fine wits must do, and that they may have something to say, wherein they are not Brownists,) but of this the Reader may see more in this Answer. page 204, 205, 206.

8. *Reason.* The Presbyterianl way, the order and government of the reformed Churches hath been countenanced from Heaven, and blessed from above with the preservation of the truth and unities of Religion, against heresies and errors in Doctrine, Idolatry and corruption in worship, and all sorts of schism, it hath been free of those mischiefs and evils of errors and

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which the Independent Churches have swarmed with, and that
 a long tract of time and the experience of almost a hundred
 years together: In Reformed Churches where this Government hath
 been set up, and hath had its free way and exercise, even where it
 wanted the advantages of the Magistrate being a member of the
 Church, and hath had manie disadvantages in regard of the spirits and
 inclinations of the people with manie temptations to errors, yet it hath
 in those places kept out errors and schismes, preserved puritie of do-
 ctrine and peace: For example, in the Churches of *France*, it is evi-
 dent by manie yeares experiences, (though their Princes bee Popish)
 they live in the midst of Papists, yet by Gods blessing upon
 their Government and Order, their Churches have beene, and are
 in doctrine, few or none falling to Poperie, Arminianisme, or
 other Schismes: and when anie errors doe arise amongst them,
 by means of that Government they are
 suppressed, and prevented from spread-
 ing. It was the observation of *Beza* in his
 history of the French Churches, though France
 was grievously afflicted, and oppressed by many,
 that which concerned Religion, it was
 free from all troubles and stirres: And yet not-
 withstanding there was nothing wanting of all those
 things by which Satan might easily draw and move
 the Church to all kind of troubles; for example,
 the Church wanted naturall lightnesse in that Nation, with
 out remedie for subtiltie and niceties, the minde of
 the Magistrates intent also upon it, that all man-
 ner of ways the Christian Churches might destroy
 themselves with their inward dissensions: notwithstanding
 all this, notwithstanding all this, no strength of the adversaries bi-
 ng, nor not in the midst of all the tempests of warre, hath beene able
 to shake thorough the most strong Bulwarkes and Walls of Ecclesiasticall
 discipline.

For the Church of *Scotland*, I have heard it often, and that from good
 men, that during the free use and exercise of Presbyteriall government
 there, never anie heresie or schisme tooke the third man, but by means
 of that Government it hath beene pull'd up at first, and either the
 particular person broaching the error recovered, or however prevented

*Nec tamen quicquam eorum de-
 fuit quibus Satan facilè Gallos
 mors ad quasvis turbas impelle-
 ret, ingenita videlicet huic genti
 vilitas, ingenita ad subtilitatem
 argutias promptæ, Magistratum
 in hoc attentus animus, ut quoma-
 do Christianæ Ecclesiæ interitum
 dissidiis semetipsas destrueret,
 adeo quid in nemo prodire pos-
 set tam sceleratus, quem Pontifi-
 cii mores nostrum adstrueretur,
 non fore vint. Agerem tamen
 firmissimum Ecclesiæ discipli-
 plina perfrangeri nullum adhuc
 adversarium videri, ne in me-
 dum quidem bellorum tempestati-
 bus potuit. Epist. 4.*

* Geneva (abſte reſto injuria) tempeſtates inteſtinas ad-
verſus religionem comparatæ vitæ vitæ potius quam ſupera-
vit, quantæ nulla fortæſſe ſub cælo civitas; nulla unquam
Paſſorum in doctrina inter ſe diffidia ſenſit; ab Anabap-
tiſtarum ſuorilui, a Libertinorum contagione, a Servet-
ianorum & corum gæſtibus hoſpitiū magno reſto malo ad-
huc præſectis, blaſphemijs immunus eſt, civitas aliqui om-
nibus advenit patens ac proinde Satanas inſidijs valde op-
portuna: Debet id ætem proſpecto ſecundum Dei benignita-
tem, Eccleſiaſtica, non tyrannidi, ut ex fructibus ſaltem
apparet, ſed diligenter obſervatæ diſcipline qua nunc etiam
facit ut omnes ex omniſque genere ſub cælo ſim gæſtibus col-
lecti in pace ævera libertate conſcientia ſuæ conquieſca-
mus.

amongſt themſelves in points of doctrine, 'tis free from the ſuries of the Anabap-
tiſt contagion of the Libertines, the blaſphemies of Servetians, a City otherwiſe open
all ſtrangers and comers, and for that cauſe very fit and ſubject to the rules
Satan. But truly it owes all this by Gods bleſſing to the Eccleſiaſtica diſci-
pline and diligently obſerved, which alſo now cauſes that all ſorts almoſt out of
Nations under Heaven there gathered together, in peace and in true liberty of con-
ſcience, do willingly accord together.

Reformat. of Church-
government in Scotland.
P. 3.

The Commiſſioners of the Church of Scotland ſay
that this government hath made the Church of Chriſt
terrible as an Army with banners, and like a ſtrong
fenced City, againſt which the adverſaries have deſi-
red to prevail, but by making a breach in this wall, and where they have gain-
ed ground or gotten any advantage, either the wall hath not been built, or being
hath been broken down, or not vigilantly kept by the watchmen.

But there will be objected againſt this a paſſage lately printed in a bo-

The Anatomist
Anatomized.

of Mr. Simpfons, that there have been as great deſections both
Ministers and people unto errors under Preſbyteriall Gover-
nment as under any other: as it is cleare in the Low-Countries
where ſo many Ministers and people turned Arminians, Papists, Socinians:
have inſtanced in ſeverall reformed Churches, and ſhowed Gods bleſſing
on Preſbyteriall government, here's only one inſtance among all the re-
formed Churches brought againſt it, and to that I ſhall give theſe three answers
Though the Churches in the Low-Countries are Preſbyteriall, yet without
there is a Toleration of other Churches and government there, which is one
of the cauſes of it and hinders Preſbyteriall government: A Toleration
ſpoile any Church and government; if Preſbyteriall government be ſet

before three have been infected
with it: * Beza in his first Epistle
gives a notable testimony to
government by the blessing
God upon it in the City of Ge-
neva: Geneva (be it spoken with
offence) hath rather escaped to
overcome all the inward temptations
against Religion, so great as no
city perhaps under Heaven hath done
the like, it never yet felt any dis-
cences, or contentions of the Papists

Toleration given in this Land; that will marre all, so that the Parli-
 may be pleased to take notice by this, and observe the difference be-
 those Churches which have no Tolerations, as *Scotland, Geneva*, and
Low-Countries which grant a Toleration, the one are pure in doctrine,
 the other makes Ministers and people turn Arminians, Socinians, &c.
 There is another Reason why it may so fall out in the *Low-Countries*,
 that Presbyteriall government hath not its free course there in Synods,
 much disturbed over 'tis in *France, Geneva, Scotland*, whereas by their
 laws and Constitutions in the *Netherlands*, there should be a Nationall
 Synod once in three years, they have not, nor cannot procure one in twenty
 years upwards; and whereas Provinciall Synods should be yearly, they
 are but once in five and seven years; besides there
 are many disturbances in Presbyteriall government which hinders the free
 course of it in *Holland*, many encroachments are made upon the rights of their
 Ministers due to them by vertue of their discipline, and heretofore established;
 and that Anabaptistall and Familistickall spirit in many, and that cor-
 rupt and principles in others, with those principles of Toleration, doth
 check and stop Presbyteriall government from having its perfect work,
 bringing forth its full effects. The true Reason of so many Ministers and
 people turning Arminians and Socinians in the *Low-Countries*, was the want
 of Synods, which *Arminius* and his followers alwaies declined, and by
 the Magistrates kept off for many years, in which time so many fell,
 that if Presbyteriall government had had its course, and a Nationall Sy-
 nod had been called, yea but a Provinciall for the Arminians to have answer-
 ed to, had before it had so much spread, and they gained so many of the
 Ministers on their side, we should have found there would have been no
 need for *M. Simpson* to write thus, *As is clear in the Low-Countries where*
many Ministers and people turned Arminians, Papists and Socinians: In a
 little while the calling of Synods, and the power of Presbyteriall government
 was taken, and some Arminians by flattery and policy wrought to put by
 the Magistrall Assemblies, and appealed to the Magistrates, as *Mr. Simpson*
 in this Apologie from the Assembly, there was not so great a defection
 of Ministers and people unto errors, in turning Papists, Socinians, &c.
 Though Presbyteriall government hath not its free course in the *Low-*
Countries as in *France, Geneva, Scotland*, besides the Toleration there, yet
 there are infinitely fewer miscarriages in censures, divisions, errors in the Pres-
 byteriall Churches then in the Independents, there having been more con-
 siderable miscarriages, falling into errors in one small Church of the Indepe-
 ndents at *Amsterdam*, and that within lesse then one yeare, then in all

the Churches in some Provinces: I remember perfectly, I have read in Mr. *getts* Arrow against Separation (a man who lived long in *Holland*, & much versed in the Controversie) how he shoves, that out of a few Members in the Brownists Churches more fall to Anabaptisme, &c. then out many thousand members of the Presbyteriall Churches amongst the *Dutch* out of all the *English* Reformed Churches there. So that notwithstanding this new objection brought against Presbyteriall government, if the Parliament should please to settle it, and that in the full power and free use of Classes and Synods, denying also a Toleration for Independencie (unto which all erroneous and discontented spirits upon all occasions would flow and ther) instead of opening a wide gate for errors, divisions and many other mischiefs, they shall lay a sure foundation for truth and peace in these Churches: And in the last words of the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland I conclude this last Reason against a Toleration: *The Church of England which God hath blessed with so much learning and piety, by this Reformation and unity with other Reformed Churches, which all of us have solemnly sworn, and subscribed to endeavour in our severall places and callings, should be a praise in earth.* Now did not other occasions call me to take off my hand, besides the book it selfe swelled already to such a number of sheets, I would have answered all the Reasons brought both for Tolerations in general, and particularly for the Congregationall way, as that men are to be perswaded in matters of Religion and not compelled, as that the Conscience is to be left free, as that the deniall of a Toleration will be a great persecution, as that this is the way to make men hypocrites, as that Gods people are a willing people; &c. but reserving this to another season, in the close of this Discourse, I will propose these following questions to the *Apologists*.

1. Whether the commanding of men by the power of Lawes to do the duties, to do the things which God requires of them, with the using of outward means to work them to it when unwilling, be unlawfull for the Magistrate, and against Christian liberty, yea or no?

2. In your moving for a Toleration, do you desire it for you five or six Ministers with those who are actually and will come in to be members of your Churches, or for all the Churches who are of the same way and Communion, if you yourselves and Churches only (which would be more tolerable, a few the great number, and you being persons of more worth then most of the others) consider the solemn League and Covenant is against it, *That we shall not out respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of schisme, and whatsoever we find contrary to sound Doctrine*; so that you cannot be tolerated more then others, besides if that were granted, you being but five Ministers

ing up but three or foure Churches, the Parliament would be never the
 in giving satisfaction, for what should become of all the rest of the Mi-
 and Churches in City and Countrey, of M. C. M. B. D. H. M. L. M. G.
 &c. the Parliament would be accounted partiall and further off from
 content, then if they granted none at all. But if it be said you desire it
 all Churches of your constitution, I answer, expresse so much under your
 and I will then give you an answer.

Whether would you have a Toleration granted in the generall, and in-
 ferently for all consciences, sects, and opinions; or only for some sorts
 opinions; I suppose, being wise men you will not expresse your selves for
 Toleration in the first sense, but in the latter, I desire to know of you then
 what limits and bounds you will set, and where the Parliament shall stop, and
 what rules you will give for this, as first, whether the Limitation shall be a
 Toleration only for all different formes of Church Government and order,
 as they agree in Doctrine with the Church established, and are Or-
 odox; but not of doctrine: Now if you hold so, then the *Brownists*, and
 the *Bishops*, with those who are for the Hierarchie must be tolerated as well
 as you; many Episcopall men being sounder in doctrine then some of your
 men, and if so, then the simple *Anabaptists*, and that sort of simple *Anabaptists*
 called *Dippers* will come in too, saying, that Baptisme at such an age, and dip-
 ping in Rivers by dipping, are but matters of order and time, and what if
 a new forme of Church-Government, and way of externall order in the
 Administration of Gods Ordinances be set up by some, a way which hath ne-
 ver yet been practised by any, must that be tolerated also? consider with your
 selves whether there may not be a safer allowance of difference in some doc-
 trines and opinions, then of different governments, as also what you have ex-
 perienced of the consequence of Church Government and order, and then re-
 solve me whether you will have all formes of Church government allowed,
 and in my Rejoynder I will apply my selfe particularly to show you the dan-
 ger of that, and how much hazard there is even of the Doctrine from the
 Discipline and Order, if that be not right. Or secondly, would you have a
 Toleration in points of Doctrine too, namely in lesser differences, I desire to
 know what you will make the rule and measure of those lesser differences?
 whether whatever may stand with saving grace, and is not against the funda-
 mentals of Doctrine and civill government, or what else? Now if you mean
 so, who shall determine and judge what may stand with saving grace, &c. e-
 very Heretick, Socinian, &c. will plead his opinion may, and I aske of you,
 whether many points and practises very bad and pernicious may not stand
 with saving-grace in some men, at least for a time what you say to

Polygamie that hath stood with saving grace, may that be tolerated? what think you of many Arminian Tenets, some Lutheran opinions, Antinomian Doctrines, and other dangerous points held by great Schollars, as by *Brentius, Osiander, Flaccius, Illyricus*, may not some of these opinions stand with grace, and might not some of these have grace, and must these now be allowed to be preached in a Kingdome that hath established Articles of Religion and a Confession of Faith? and shall such preachers gather people into Churches? if all points may be preached, and Churches allowed for all Doctrine that are not against fundamentals, and that may stand with saving grace, there will be a strange face of Protestant Reformed Churches, infinite novelties may be broached, and great stirs caused in a Kingdome, I desire you in your Reply to state your lesser differences, and to set down your Boundaries, what and what not, and accordingly I shall answer; In the mean time from these few hints, you and the Reader may see, besides the unlawfulness, there's difficulty where to fasten a Toleration. Now in the close of my discourse against Toleration, I take the humble boldnesse to represent to the Honorable Houses of Parliament, that tis the Magistrates duty not to suffer schismes, heresies, and other errors to grow and increase in the Church; for as they are Magistrates they truly serve God, whose Ministers they are, and kiss the Son, in revenging the injuries wantonly committed against God and his truth, and in preserving the externall politie of Doctrine and manners: one of the great services Princes and Parliament performe to Christ in reference to their great and high calling, consists in making Lawes for the observing the Worship and Government of his House, and by Lawes prohibiting all other worships and governments. And I humbly beseech the Parliament seriously to consider the depths of Satan in this designe of a Toleration, how this is now his last plot and designe, and by it would undermine and frustrate the whole work of Reformation intended, 'tis his Master-piece for *England*, and for effecting of it, he comes and moves not in Prelates and Bishops, not in furious Anabaptists, &c. but in holy men, excellent Preachers, moderate and faire men, not for a Toleration of heresies and grosse opinions, but an allowance of a latitude to

* *Nec Diabolus ipse venit ut Diabolus, praesertim candidus: ille non vult diabolus deformis et ater esse in sui ministru, sed mundus et candidus, et ut talis appareat proponit et ornat omnia verba et opera sua pretextu veritatis, et nominis Dei, Luth. loc. Comm. class. 5^a. pa. 24.*

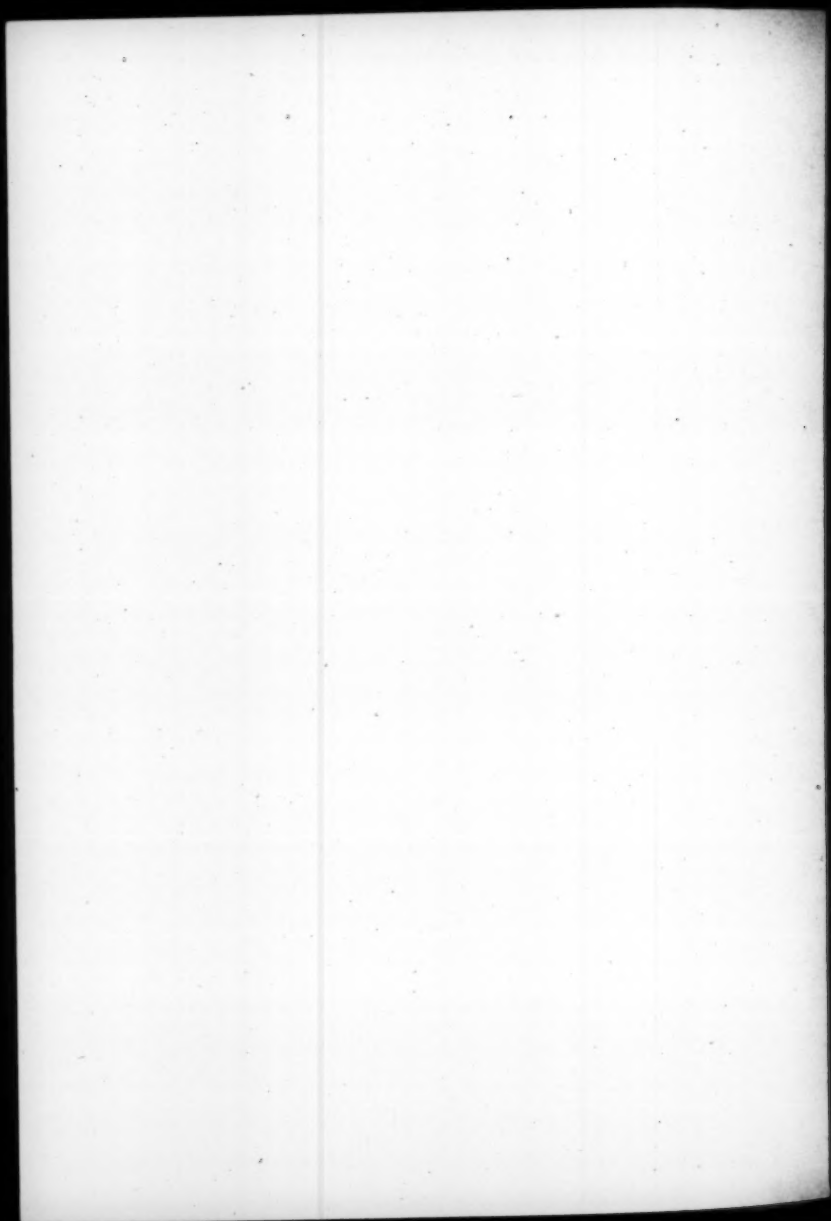
some lesser differences with peaceableness, this is candidus ille Diabolus, as * *Luther* speakes, and *meridianus Diabolus*, as *Johannes Gersonius*, and *Ben* expresse it, comming under the merits of some suffering, and well deserving, clad in the white garments of

Innocencie and Holinesse: In a word, could the devill effect a Toleration, he would

I think he had gained well by the Reformation, and made a good ex-
 ample of the Hierarchie to have a Toleration for it : I am confident of it up-
 on serious thoughts and long searching into this point of the evils and mis-
 eries of a Toleration, that if the devil had his choice, whether the Hierarchie,
 Ceremonies and Lyturgie should be established in this Kingdome, or a To-
 leration granted, he would chuse and prefer a Toleration before them, and
 would willingly part with, and give up all those for a Toleration of divers
 and different Churches. To conclude, if the way of Independencie be
 the way of God, and the *Apologists* can make that good, let it be established by the
 Parliament, and let's all come to that, if it be not, why then should it be
 started ? and why did the *Apologists* move for a Toleration before that
 it came to be debated and argued in the Assembly. And now for a con-
 clusion and closing up this Answer to the *Apologeticall Narration*, I might
 have some Authorours doe in answering Books gather together, and draw up in-
 to all the maine particulars of the *Apologie* animadverted upon, and
 set them under certain heads, and rank them in their severall forms, and so
 present a *Synopsis* of them to both Houses and the Reader, whereby they
 might have all in their eye at once, see much in a little : As 1. all the expres-
 sions of the high praises of themselves and their owne partie scattered up
 and downe in the *Apologie*. 2. The Aspersions Depressions, Insinuations
 and open and more secret of the Reformed Churches, and of the Assem-
 bly. 3. The crossings and interfearings of some passages in the booke with
 others. 4. The plaine and manifest untruths expressed in manie pages.
 5. All the Reservations and Concealments of matters both of opinions and
 of offices in the Church-way. 6. The double doubtfull expressions both in
 words and matter. 7. The mistaking of the questions in difference both on
 their own side, and the Presbyterians, stating their owne differences with the
 others, and the Reformed Churches at the highest. 8. The generall expres-
 sions without coming downe to particulars, all which being deducted and
 subtracted from the *Apologie*, what remains behind (saving some few argu-
 ments hinted) but a just testimonie of the Parliament and Assemblie, with a
 true character of the people and multitude, and a brand upon the old separa-
 tions, which passages also of the Parliament, Assembly, People and Separati-
 ons were brought in, both the praise of one, and the dis-praise of the other, in
 reference to the magnifying and commending the more the innocencie and
 cleanness, &c. of the *Apologists*; but I spare ; the wise Reader may observe
 the passages, and I have animadverted upon them all along in my Answer. I
 should have made one part of my Answer to this *Apologie* a strange (though
 not) paraphrase upon it, and *ordine inverso* have turned the *Narration* of
 them-

themselves for the most part contrary : But I shall reserve that, with some other things I have yet to say in matter of fact, till I put out my Rejoynder to their Reply : In the mean time I shall conclude this *Antapologie* with turning my selfe to the *Apologists*. Brethren, I beseech and exhort you to search and try your hearts and waies, both in what may be precedent to this *Apologie* and with what spirit and intentions you writ it, that God should thus leave you to your selves to make such an *Apologie*, let your Consciences reflect on what is plainly laid down before you in this Answer, and do not seek shifts and subterfuges, consider there is a speciall hand of God in it, and is not ordinary that both so many publike and particular persons should appear in writing against a book, as have done against yours, the Churches beyond the Seas, the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, with three distinct Answers made by particular persons, beside heare another Answer is comming forth: Certainly the Lord left you to humble you, and that you might know what was in your hearts, your great applause and being cryed up by the people, your favour and power with many great persons; your great estates and abundance, your confidence of carrying any thing and saying any thing, your wisdom and great parts were too strong for you, and deceived you ; Let my counsell be acceptable to you, repent, repent of writing this *Apologie*, give glory to God, and recant it, and testifie your repentance by dissolving your Churches, and comming into them, and that you may repent and recall this *Apologie*, I will present to you the greatnesse of your sin and folly in making the *Apologie*, and it stands in the particulars: 1. It was an unseasonable disorderly work for the time & way it was done. 2. 'Tis a *Narration* full of mentall Reservations, high praises of your selves, but censuring and scandalizing the reformed Churches of Christ. 3. There are many untruths in it, & that not only where you make naked relations of things, but where you make professions before God and the World; yet where you make serious Invocations of God to attest them, and men allow it, and all this is done publicly by printing, and deliberately, and upon a designe to take the more with the people, and to make way the better for a Toleration. 4. There is a breach of the solemne Covenant subscribed by you, especially in that clause of the first branch, *we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the neereſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, and Forme of Church-Government*, instead of what before you ever so much as tried and endeavoured it, by debating those matters of difference in the Assemblies, whereby it might be brought to an Uniformity; you endeavour by this *Apologie* a Toleration, and sue for an execution of Conjunction and Uniformity in Church-Government, which is strai-

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should desire, especially having covenanted to the contrary, which breach of covenant is aggravated also, that you do not onlie do it your selves, but labour to bring the Houses into it by moving them to grant you a Toleration. Now if a simple and single untruth need repentance, what repentance shall there be for such a compounded aggravated evill as yours is: And I have represented it to your owne consciences that you may smite upon your thigh, so I turne you over to your Churches, whereof you are Ministers, they shall deale with you for your great sin, and either bring you to Confession and Repentance, or else proceed to censure, did I know where your Churches dwelt and where they meet, I might then come and complaine to them of your great sin, but instead of coming, I send them this Answer, whereby I give them notice, and am readie to satisfie anie that shall desire the prooffe, and instead of declaring by letters the offence, I do by print declare it, and require of the Churches, especiallie M. Sympsons Church, they will not be guiltie of suffering known sin in the Church, as they would suffer sin to lie upon a brother, and as they would vindicate the glorie and honour of Christ, that they call M. Sympsen to an account and admonish him, and bring him to publike repentance for his publike sin, or else upon impenitencie and obstinacie that they cast him out of the Church, and I believe he is charged with will fall under the subject of that dreadfull sentence according to what sins your selves judge that sentence is to be put in execution. *Apol. pag. 9.* But if M. Sympsens Church neglect, and will not question this sin, then I desire the rest of the Churches of that Communion to declare it to the Churches of the *Apologists*, and to charge them with their countenancing of sin, and if the Churches will still bease and wink at sin, and continue impenitent, that then the rest of the Churches, namely, M. Lockyers, Ceters, D. Holmes, &c. doe pronounce the heavy sentence of Non-communication against the *Apologists* Churches, and further to declare and protest this sentence to all other Churches of Christ, that they may do the like, to all also to New-England, and give notice to all the Churches of the Separation, that they may Non-communication the *Apologists* Churches. But if the secular Churches of the *Apologists*, and all the Churches of their owne communion will all hold to favour sin, neither question the *Apologists*, nor the Churches, then we shall have a cleare instance of the partialitie of those Churches, and of their allowing of sin among themselves, and of the insufficiency of those Remedies of Submission, Non-Communion, Declaration and Confession.



THE TABLE.

Many Erroneous persons have made Apologies and Justifications as well as the Assertors of truth.	page 1.	their <i>Apologet. Narration</i> to the two Houses of Parliament, the reasons for it shown to be insufficient.	p. 8.
A Confutation of the Title of the Booke call'd an <i>Apologetical Narration</i> , &c.	page 2.	The boldnesse of the Apologists appealing to the Parliament things untrue.	p. 1.
The <i>Apologetical Narration</i> though at first reading carries the face of fairness, modesty, ingenuity, yet it is cunningly drawn up to take and deceive good people, consisting only of specious pretences.	p. 3.	The matter and manner of the <i>Apologetical Narration</i> spoken.	p. 1.
The way of proving matters of fact contrary to what they are related in the <i>Apologet. Narration</i> .	p. 4.	Two questions propounded by the Author of the <i>Antapologet</i> to the Apologists.	p. 11.
The ground and occasion of setting forth of the <i>Apologet. Narration</i> alledged by the Apologists refuted, and the true motives and grounds of writing the <i>Apologetical Narration</i> at that time set downe.	p. 4, 5, 6.	Episcopall Government and the Liturgie were no sufficient ground of forsaking the public Assemblies, and erecting new conformists would not upon the corruptions that cleaved to them separate.	p. 1.
The <i>Apologet. Narration</i> was an Anticipation with a witness, and a great Discoverie of the wayes and spirits of the Apologists.	p. 6, 7.	Mr. Goodwin at first falling off from the Ceremonies, and not from the Liturgie, or to the Independent way: Mr. Burroughs falling off from the Ceremonies till first suspended at Bishop Wms Visitation, so that the Ceremonies tooke not hold upon their consciences till suspension for Innovations first took hold of them.	p. 14, 15.
The putting forth the <i>Apologet. Narration</i> a prejudging of the Assembly, a pre-ingaging of the Apologists and their party.	p. 8.	Mr. Goodwin and M. Nye some three years after casting of Ceremonies	

THE TABLE.

for some good time after they
fell to the Church-way, were free
from personall violence and per-
secution in the Kingdome, so as
not put upon a necessity of exile,

p. 15, 16.

Worroughs was free and safe in the
Kingdome after his suspension, till
he uttered some speeches about
the Scottish War.

p. 16.

Questions put to some of the Apo-
logists, whether not in the Church-
way before they went over into
Holland, p. 18, 19. yea proved past
question they were.

The Apologists did not in their
entry into the first Apologists
directions looke upon the word of
Christ, as impartially and unpreju-
dicially as men made of flesh and
blood, are like to do in any junc-
tion of time that may fall out, this
proved against the Apologists in
several instances.

p. 20, 21.

great Selfe-flattery and pride of
the Apologists in those words of
looke into the word of Christ
impartially, &c.

p. 21.

The Apologists suffering and ex-
ile were not such as they are pre-
tended, and that other men suffe-
red more for their consciences
than they.

p. 22.

The Apologists had state-ends
and politick interests to comply
with, and that if it had been true
they had none, yet were it nothing
to prove that which it is brought

p. 22, 23, 24.

The Apologists though not engaged
by Education to the Reformed
Churches, yet engaged to the
Churches of *New-England*, and to
some prime men in *New-England*

p. 26.

Four passages among so many bad
in the *Apologist. Narration*, good
and usefull.

p. 27.

The Apologists and their Churches
fell into the same sins and divi-
sions that the old Brownists did.

p. 28.

The divisions and differences in Mr.
Bridges Church at *Rotterdam* be-
tween M. *Bridge* and *Symson*, be-
tween M. *Ward* and the Church, as
also strange conceits and opinions
held in the Church of *Arnhem*, as
of anointing the sick with oyle by
the Elders of the Church, as of
singing of Hymnes with the diffe-
rences in that Church.

p. 29, 30.

The Apologists hyperbolicall praises
of *New-England* corrected and
qualified.

p. 32, 33.

The true causes assigned of men go-
ing to *New-England* at first, and
not meerly to worship God more
purely, as the Apologists say.

p. 33, 34.

A Discovery how they of *New-En-
gland* came first to fall to the In-
dependent way.

p. 34, 35.

The Apologists profession in their
Apologetical Narration, of the
Parish Churches of *England* shew-
ed to be contrary to what some of
them in Letters and other Manu-

THE TABLE.

- Scriptures had declared of them. p. 36, 37, 38.
- The Apologists Principles and practises contrary to their Declaration about our Parish Churches. p. 39, 40, 41.
- The Apologists profession, that they did and would hold communion with the Churches of *England*, with all the proofes brought for it showed to be fallacious. p. 43, 44, 45, 46.
- The Apologists had not such good respect and acceptance neither from the Dutch Reformed Churches nor the *Englisk* Reformed Churches in *Holland* as they pretend. p. 47, 48, 49, 50.
- The Apologists publike worship contrary to their profession in their Apologie proved to be made up of other parts, then the worship all other Reformed Churches doth consist of, as namely prophesying, Hymnes, Anointing Church members with oyl, the kisse of love, &c. p. 51.
- The Apologists hold other Church officers, then the Reformed Churches, as widowers. p. 52.
- That in the Churches of the Apologists when they say they practise no other parts of worship then the Reformed Churches, 'tis questionable whether they practised all the parts of worship used by Reformed Churches, as singing of Psalmes, &c. p. 54.
- The Apologists *Narration* about their agreeing with the Reformed Churches

- in Government and censures lame and defective; concealing what they practised not in them, as also the different way practising the things, besides practising more censures then expressed, as deposition of an officer *M. Wards* case. p. 54.
- The Apologists as they expresse themselves in their *Apologistical Narration* differ from all the Reformed Churches in the subject matter Excommunication, and 'tis framed for the Toleration of Sects and Heresies, p. 55.
- That in the old Testament there are rules, directions, and examples to guide the Churches now by, as well as in the new Testament, howebeit the old Testament is wholly let out by the Apologists. p. 56.
- So that the supream rule is not so narrow, as the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles.
- That the Apologists setting aside the old Testament, and that part of the new too, the Gospels (which they mention not as the rule of Worship and Government:) can not out of the Acts and Epistles make good many things of the way, as Ministers to be made by the people alone, as the Church Covenant, &c. p. 57.
- How far the Scriptures are a rule in all matters of Externall order and policie, and in what sense the perfection and sufficiencie of the Scriptures is principally to be understood.

THE TABLE,

this principle of making the
 scriptures the rule for all matters
 of Church-Government and order
 in the Church, ought to be rightly
 understood, because an imitation
 of the Apostles in all things of
 matters of order without a limita-
 tion, hath been a foundation of
 many evils on all hands, p. 59, 60.
 The principle of the Apologists not
 to make their present judgement
 and practise a binding Law unto
 themselves for the future, but to
 keep a reserve to alter and retract,
 is a dangerous principle to go by in
 the Church of God, p. 62, 63.
 As the Apologists affirme that
 in matters of greatest moment
 they practised safely, 'tis proved
 they did not practise safely. p.
 72, 73.
 The Reformed Churches practise more
 safely then the Independents, and
 do not make additaments, p.
 74.
 The Independents have made ad-
 ditaments and superadditions, and
 that in more materiall things then
 the Reformed Churches, p. 75,
 76.
 Churches there may be an admit-
 ting to some of the Ordinances,
 and a receiving of others to all the
 ordinances. p. 77.
 Independents in admission of Mem-
 bers chuse not the better part, nor
 the safer. p. 77.

The visible Church of Christ consists
 of good and bad. p. 79.
 All Divines and Reformed Churches
 do allow the lawfull use of set
 Formes of Prayer composed and
 framed by Synods and Assemblies,
 p. 80, 81, 82.
 The Reformed Churches doe not al-
 low an entire and compleat pow-
 er to be exercised by the Elders of
 every Congregation alone, either
 in ordaining or deposing their Mi-
 nisters, &c. p. 87.
 The Non-conformists and Reformed
 Churches though against the Go-
 vernment of Bishops and Diocesan
 Churches (that is of a head Church
 over many Congregations) yet not
 against a particular Church of such
 a City, consisting of many Con-
 gregations. p. 89.
 The Churches of *Jerusalem*, *Rome*,
Ephesus, were not particular Con-
 gregations, but Churches consisting
 of many Congregations, p. 89,
 90, 91.
 The Non-residencie of the Ministers
 and Members of the Independent
 Churches from each other. p.
 96.
 The Reasons given by the Apologists
 of being subject and ruled only by
 the Elders of their particular Con-
 gregation fully answered. p.
 90, 99, 100, 101.
 The common objection against the
 Congregationall way, having no
 remedy nor helpe against miscar-
 riages, is both a just and strong Ar-
 gument

THE TABLE,

- gument against it, page 105, and 106.
- The Scriptures brought by the Apologists for their sacred Principles of submission of Churches, and pronouncing the heavy sentence of non-communication against Churches, shewed to be impertinent and unsatisfactory to prove what they are alledged for. p. 106, 107, 108, 109.
- The Principles of submission and non-communication shewed to be no sufficient remedies for miscarriages and evils, but a way of leading men into labyrinths, absurdities, contrarieties, p. 111, 112, 113.
- The practise of the Apologists according to their Principles of submission as insufficient as their Principles. 115.
- The story of the difference in the Church of *Rotterdam* about *M. Ward*, and betweene *M. Bridge* and *Mr. Symphon*, p. 115, 116, 117.
13. Quares put to the Apologists upon occasion of this story about *M. Ward*, and their practise upon it, p. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121.
- The uneffectualnesse of the Apologists practise about the case of *M. Ward*, p. 122, 123.
- The great difference of the effectualnesse and successe which the Presbyterian principles and way holds out over the Independent. p. 123.
- The Presbyterians in the Ecclesiastical proceedings and power more effectual than the Independents. p. 123, 124, 125, 126, 127.
- The Presbyterians give more to the Magistrate than the Independents. p. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131.
- Some questions propounded to the Apologists about the Magistrate's power. p. 131, 132, 133, 134.
- Non-communication with the Magistrate to the Magistrates backing the sentence is not comparable to that of Excommunication and Presbyterian Government. p. 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- A disjunctive Proposition put to the Apologists, and some Animadversions given upon what the Apologists say of calling to an account Churches offended, and proceeding to full and open trials. p. 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Some Animadversions upon the Apologists closing up the relation of their exile and their sad day of their Pilgrimage on earth. p. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Of the Apologists exile, and what kind of exile it was. p. 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- The Independents justly charged of schisme and separation. p. 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- The title of Independencie justly given to the Apologists, a name given to their way by themselves. p. 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Refined Brownisme justly given to the Independents, and a clear discovery how they agree in the

THE TABLE,

principles with the Brownists.

p. 174, 175, 176.

The mists cast upon the Apologists
their absence, scattered and va-
ned away by their presence. p.

179.

Apologists asserting that since
they were into *Switzerland* they
not in the least attempt-
to make and increase a party,
have forborne by preaching or
any other way to do any thing for
themselves proved to be very false,
that calling God and Men to
witness their constant forbear-
ance shewed to be a fearful ta-
ke of Gods name in vain. p.

182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189,
190.

The provocations the Apologists
make they have had proved un-
just, and men never had fewer
provocations. p. 192, 193.

194, 195, 196.

Grounds and Reasons of the A-
pologists pretended deep silence
and forbearance of venting their
opinions examined and confuted.

p. 197, 198, 199, 200.

Examination of the disadvantages
the Apologists pretend they had in
the Assembly, and what they say
confuted. p. 215, 216, 217.

218, 219.

Apologists not so Orthodox in
all points of doctrine, as the Pres-
byterian, having besides the Mon-

ster of Toleration in their bo-
somes, running Wormes in their
heads. p. 221, 222.

The Apologists have not in their Apo-
logie nakedly and with all simplici-
ty rendred a clear account of their
waies and spirits. p. 224.

The boldness of the Apologists in
presenting their *Apologues* *Narra-
tion* to the Honourable Houses.

p. 226.

The motive brought by the Apolo-
gists to favour them, and grant
them a Toleration, because for
many years they suffered to exile
examined and confuted. p. 229.

230.

Eight Reasons laid down against a
Toleration of Independent Churches and Government from page
237. to page 254.

Some questions propounded to the
Apologists concerning their desire
of a Toleration. p. 254, 255,

256.

Toleration the depth of Sathan, and
his Master-piece for ruining of En-
gland, wherein the Divell under
the cloake of holy men and tender
consciences comes as a white Di-
vell. p. 256, 257.

The Antapologists Conclusion, wherein
the Author sums up the many evils
of the *Apologetical Narration* and
exhorteth the Apologists to re-
pent, and forsaking their Indepen-
dent way. page 257, 258.

FINIS.

R Under when my Antapologie went the second time to the Presse, upon a view I corrected many Errata that had escaped the Presse the first time but the Booke being printed at two severall Printing Houses, and the first never brought to me to correct, nor I seeing them till they were wrought off from Presse, I cannot but think there are many Errata and mistakes; but however having time to read over my Booke and to examine every page and line (as have new Booke) a coming shortly against the Sects (I must venture upon thy ingenuity, treating thee to correct what mistakes thou meetest with, and not to impute them to the Author, but to that common condition that befalls Booke at the Presse, especially when the Author cannot attend the Presse. I desire thee to take notice that some of the pages the figures are mistaken, at 43. for 42. as 131. for 125. as is in some others, and upon looking over the Booke here and there these faults presently presented themselves to view.

Page 40. l. 34. adde after true Churches these words left out, cannot stand together, page 59. l. 30. r. for and of, and not of, line 29. r. Substantials, p. 8 l. 16. for induction read distinction.

stan
p. 8